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The Colored Elite in a Brazilian City
[Les élites de couleur dans une ville brésilienne]

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Introduction

121 The subject of this monograph is the study of the social ascent of colored people /Fr. gens de couleur/ in a Brazilian city and the analysis of the mechanisms whereby this "vertical mobility" comes into play. The city that has been chosen as the field of investigation is that of Salvador (Bahia), which for a long time has been cited as a model of racial harmony.

The research project that served as the basis of this report included: 1st, an inquiry into the place given to colored people -- for the most part descendants of African Blacks or of the crossing of Blacks and Portuguese -- in the social groups surrounded by an aura of prestige and, in a general manner, in the upper classes of the society; 2nd, a description of the mechanism of social ascent; 3rd, a study of the way in which Whites and colored people react when confronted by this social phenomenon.

114 The research carried out under our responsibility began in February, 1951, and was pursued until October of the same year.

Our observations dealt with the racial composition of different social groupings and were carried out on the occasion of religious ceremonies, military or civic parades, school functions, academic sessions, or meetings of learned societies, balls, family festivals, and sports events. They were rounded out by visits to administrative and business offices, to stores, schools, clubs, and other places of work and recreation. [127] We likewise examined the portraits of colored people filed in the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State, of students or of school children photographed at the time of the promotion of their class, of members of religious brotherhoods, of recreational and social clubs, and finally of persons belonging to the liberal professions. When we had at our disposal only lists of names, the classification according to ethnic origin was entrusted to three or four individuals who were acquainted with the members of the group in question.

124 [127] In addition to these investigations and the compilation of data furnished by previous studies of a social, historical, ethnographic, and demographic nature, 56 Blacks and mulattoes were interviewed: they were chosen from a list of 128 names, which included a majority of colored people occupying a high position

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124 in Bahia society. Out of 48 of the individuals mentioned above, with whom I maintained more or less close relations, I interviewed 25 personally and I chose 20 among 80 with whom I had not had any contact; the other 11, almost all of them of the female sex, were interviewed by assistants connected with the investigation. We were thus able /6/ to talk to 20 Blacks and 36 mulattoes of different types, 12 of them women and 44 men who practiced the professions of lawyer, judge, physician, civil engineer, dentist, economist, professor, artist, contractor, merchant, official, not counting the priests and university students, several of whom, besides their principal occupations, devoted themselves to political, bureaucratic, educational, and social activities. Almost all the subjects in question are in modest circumstances, sometimes even very poor, and have attained positions of more or less great prestige. Their ages vary between 20 and 70 years, but with the majority ranging from 30 to 50. All are natives of Bahia or have lived there for a long time.

The interviews (1) dealt with race relations and color prejudices, and stressed the problem of social ascent; the most complete freedom of expression was allowed the informants. The investigator interrupted only in order to prevent the conversation from digressing. It was almost always necessary at one time or another to bring the informant back to his subject, in order to obtain a continuous account.

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[113] 1. On the techniques and advantages of this kind of interview, cf. Clyde Kluckholn /sic/, "The Personal Document in Anthropological Science," in The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, "Social Science Research Council Bulletin," New York, 1945, p. 125.

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124 Let us remark in passing that among the individuals questioned a large number, in spite of their high intellectual level, experienced some difficulty in expressing their point of view. Doubtless it was a matter of a defense reaction; but in many cases this hesitation is also due to the fact that these persons had never ascribed much importance to the question. These two interpretations, whatever they may be worth, are both significant with regard to race relations in Bahia.

The occasions when the spontaneity of the informants was tempered by mistrust were rare. Only two individuals evaded the interview: a Black belonging to a liberal profession, who showed great reserve, and a woman, a mulattress of light complexion, occupying an administrative post, who appeared irritated by the nature of the investigation, the interest of which she did not see.

For an accurate understanding of the facts, it is useful to recall that the interviews took place, in general, without a previous appointment. Several times, however, I notified our informants that I was engaged in an investigation of race relations and wished to know their opinion. Several interviews were obtained in the course of chance encounters and had the character of a simple conversation. In certain cases they were resumed for the requirements of this study, with the consent of the informants. Certain individuals acted as though it were /7/ difficult for them to enter upon "such a delicate matter"; nevertheless, on the whole, they proved as communicative as one could wish. The intentions of the investigators were generally well understood by the informants. Certain ones among them even seemed finally to have found the occasion, so often desired, to express their grievances or their personal views on their particular case as well as on the problem in general. The method of the interview, as far as one could judge, seemed to be very effective. It may be hoped that its use on a broader scale will furnish new elucidations on the same subject.

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126 As for the method of recording the interviews, the most important among them were transcribed by means of rapid notes taken during the conversation. On rare occasions the interview was transcribed in a more complete fashion. The reports were written up, with some exceptions, in the first hours following the meeting.

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124 We also called on a limited number of white informants who had the reputation of being familiar with the problems of Bahia in 114 the past and the present. Born and raised in this city, where I have never ceased to dwell, I was also able to use my own experience. 127 In addition, we made use of announcements and editorial commentaries appearing in the periodicals and daily papers of Bahia and reflecting, up to a certain point, the stereotypes of the milieu studied.

121 A simple description of the racial situation in Bahia would not be adequate to make one understand the dynamism of this rising of the Blacks on the social scale. It has also been treated as a process of cultural and social change and therefore examined from a historical perspective; people have refrained, however, from going into details.

114 127 Our investigation, in one sense, was made difficult by the scarcity of anthropological and sociological works on the society of Bahia. This city has been the subject of several historical studies in the course of recent years. One finds numerous references to the slave trade, to anthropometry, to phenomena of acculturation, and to African survivals, but, as Donald Pierson very rightly says in the work that we shall cite so often, there is only a meager literature on the conflicts or on the processes of adjustment that characterize race relations in Bahia. The book by Donald Pierson (1) is really the first and up to now the only one in which race relations in Bahia have been analyzed and presented according to the methods of modern sociology.

128 I do not pretend to have done exhaustive or definitive work on /8/ the very complex problem of the social mobility of colored people in Bahia. I wanted above all to be objective and to present the problems from a scientific point of view, by avoiding insofar as possible the snares of ethnocentrism so difficult to elude, even unconsciously, when one is a member of the culture that one is describing.

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[113] 1. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil. A study of race contact at Bahia. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1947.

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/8 cont./

122 The realization of this project is due to the initiative of
Unesco, which subsidized it and made it possible, thanks to an
agreement made with the Foundation for the Development of
Science in Bahia, within the framework of the program of social
research of the State of Bahia and Columbia University. It is a
pleasant duty for me to thank my friends: Professor Charles Wagley
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problems of the study, and to help me with his critical comments
114 and his authoritative opinions. I wish likewise to show my gratitude
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well as Mr. Maurilio Pinto da Silva, Jayme Abreu, and Louis R.
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excellent photographer Mr. Pierre Verger for his technical assistance.
[127] I thank, moreover, the recreational clubs, the religious
brotherhoods, the schools, and the organizations that register professional
work for having facilitated for me access to their card-index
115 cabinets and their registers. I wish finally to mention very
114 especially my informants, whom it is unfortunately impossible to
name; I wish to express to them here all my gratitude for their
good will and for the wealth of data and of personal experiences
that they kindly entrusted to me and that I have utilized for a
scientific purpose; I add that none of them can be held responsible
for the way in which I have utilized this material.

January, 1952 Thales de Azevedo

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The Ethnic Types of Bahia

361 Bahia owes its reputation, not only to its privileged location
*563 on the shores of a magnificent bay and to its churches of an ornate
633 rococo style, but also, to a certain degree, to the excellent relations
that exist in the heart of its motley population between people
633 of different color. Stephan Zweig drew a very vivid picture
*563 of Bahia and its ancient traditions. For him, Brazil began with
this city, and not only Brazil, but also South America. "In this city was erected the first pier of the vast bridge thrown across the Atlantic: in it has originated, through the combination of European, African, and American material, the new mixture that is fermenting so actively at the present time (1)."

[113] 1. Stephan Zweig, Brazil, Pais do Futuro /Brazil, Land of the Future/, trans. by Gallotti, Rio de Janeiro, 1941, p. 275.

175 From its founding under the official name of Cidade do
633 Salvador, Bahia began to be known for its wealth, which it owed
[103] to the sugar produced by its fazendas (2)
[249]
[192]

2. Plantations.

and its engenhos (3).

3. Sugar mills.

[796] It was also renowned for the magnificence of the worship in its
[363] numerous churches, for the religious processions that passed
through its narrow, climbing streets, and for the traditions, so
typically Portuguese, of its inhabitants. Center of importation
[567] of African slaves, Bahia was also famous for the large proportion
[167] of Blacks in its population, to the point that foreign travelers of
[162] the colonial period speak of this city as a "new Guinea" (4).

[113] 4. M. Frezier, Relation du voyage de la mer du Sud aux côtes du Chili et du Pérou fait pendant les années 1712, 1713 and 1714 /Account of the

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BB 175 633 [113]

/9 cont./

voyage from the South Sea to the coasts of Chile and Peru made during the years 1712, 1713, and 1714/, Paris, 1732; Adolphe d'Assier, Le Brésil contemporain /Contemporary Brazil/, Paris, 1867.

BB [548]

Founded in 1549, seat of the general government of Brazil and residence of the Portuguese viceroy until 1763, the date when the capital of the colony was transferred to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia was regarded as "the most Portuguese" of the cities of the American continent. Even today it is one of the most important cities of Brazil (5).

N.B. 131 241 311 316 233
NB 161
BB [162]
B 633 162

5. The State of Bahia has an area of 563,000 square kilometers and a littoral of 100 kilometers; its territory, of varied geographical aspect, is occupied chiefly by plantations of cacao, tobacco, cereals, by stock farms, and by mines of manganese, chromium, diamonds, iron, bituminous schists, etc. After the national census of July, 1950, the State had 4,900,419 inhabitants, 395,993 of them in the city of Salvador itself. The other most populous cities of Brazil are: Rio de Janeiro (federal district), with 2,335,931 inhabitants; São Paulo, with 2,041,716 inhabitants; Recife, with 522,466 inhabitants; Porto Alegre, 381,964 inhabitants, and Belo Horizonte, with 346,207 inhabitants.

BB 633 *563 [181]

Owing to the conservative and traditionalist nature of its civilization, owing also to the distance that separates it from the other important urban centers, it is considered one of the /10/ demographic and cultural islets of what has been called the "Brazilian Archipelago." As we have said, what makes it particularly interesting is the fact that it was always a melting pot of races, certainly the most representative and the most symbolic of racial relations of the country.

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/10 cont./

*563 826 In order to understand the composition of the local population and to interpret correctly the demographic statistics of Bahia, ancient and modern, it is necessary to be well acquainted with the meaning of the terms that serve to designate the different physical types brought together in its vast melting pot. The most common expressions are [192] branco, preto, mulato, pardo, moreno, and caboclo, which one may translate as: White, Black, mulatto (1).

[192] [128] 1. There are no common French terms to designate the terms pardo, moreno, caboclo, the explanation of which is given farther on. We shall therefore leave them in their Brazilian form in these pages.

[829] These terms seemingly designate definite physical types: in reality, their meaning is inspired much more by the social context than by racial characteristics such as the color of the skin, the hair, and the shape of the face.

*563 826 829 565 In a general way Whites are individuals of white phenotype; very tall persons with light eyes and with hair likewise light and fine are often called brancos finos (fine Whites) because they do show any signs of mixture with colored types. Nevertheless individuals who are wealthy and of high rank, whatever their appearance, may very well be called Whites. When one hears a person of humble station, a servant or agricultural worker, call a superior "my White," one is sometimes surprised to discover that the person to whom the title is addressed has a very dark complexion. The stevedores and porters, who are almost all black, indiscriminately call Whites and mulattoes of prosperous appearance "my White." The common people never cease saying that "the one who has money is White."

A colored sociologist says that "a Brazilian Black can become white to the extent that he rises economically and acquires the attitude of the upper groups." Assignment to an upper social class in Brazil is based more on the culture or the economic position of an individual than on his racial characteristics. The

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826 /10 cont./
829 mulattoes of The light complexion, socially "whitened" or "Whites
*563 in color" (brancos na côr), are commonly called "Whites of the
565 land" (brancos da terra) or "Whites of Bahia" (2),
[192]

when they occupy an important position and when one /11/ does not wish to offend them by calling them mulattoes. In the characterization of these "presumed Whites," fortune or social rank always plays a large part. In speaking of a light métis /a person with mixed blood/ with slightly Negroid features, one may say with a certain irony: "So-and-So is White, socially speaking, since he has already occupied one of the highest positions in the State." It is for these reasons that a physician from Bahia who had taken up the study of anthropology wrote as early as 1898 that "anatomically the Whites of Bahia are placed between the pardos and the direct descendants of Portuguese not of mixed blood (1)."

[114] 2. According to Donald Pierson, the Whites of Bahia are "very light métis /persons of mixed blood / who in Bahia are generally considered Whites"; cf. Brancos e pretos na Bahia /Whites and Blacks in Bahia/, São Paulo, 1945, p. 200. In commenting on this definition, a writer from Bahia explains that it does not rest upon an observation based on physical anthropology. Factors of a sociological order enter into this specification and make defining it difficult. J. Valadares, "Brancos da Bahia," Estado da Bahia, 2, VI, Bahia, 1943 (this comment refers to an article published by Pierson in 1943). [113]

[113] 1. J. B. Sá Oliveira, Evoluçao psiquica dos bahianos /Psychic evolution of the Bahians/, Bahia, 1898, p. 51.

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826/11 cont./

829 *563 576 [192] Pretos, or Blacks, are all the individuals who show the physical characteristics of the Black, particularly the very dark skin, "the color of charcoal," the frizzy hair, the flat nose, and the very thick lips. But to use the expression "Negro" /Fr. nègre/ is considered less courteous and sometimes even offensive. A physician who worked in a dermatology clinic registered as "Negro" a patient who had come to be treated; but the father of the latter came to the physician to protest that he should substitute for this term that of preto (Black) or escuro (dark /Fr. foncé/).

[192] A person who is speaking to a Black of a lower class may say to him, in speaking of another Black, "Someone black like you"; but if it is a matter of a person belonging to a higher class, good form requires that one use the term escuro (dark) or even moreno. Several informants reported that the students of certain black professors with crude manners say of them that they have the "manners of Negroes." In the same way, a dark mulatto intellectual knows that if one wishes to offend him one calls him "this Negro," and a Black practicing a liberal profession is not unaware either that his political adversaries, in speaking of him, say "the Negro Léonard." It is not rare to hear Whites and morenos protest in a low voice against the bad manners, the bursts of laughter, the gossip of these "Negroes," when Blacks and mulattoes give free vent to their noisy gaiety in public conveyances, in cinemas, or in the streets. Nevertheless the expression "my Negro" is a term of friendship, even among Whites. Sometimes the term "Negro" is used as a diminutive, "a sympathetic little Negro" /Fr. négrillon/, without containing any unkind implication. [196] On the other hand, the word nigrinha, the feminine form of the same diminutive, has a pejorative and insulting meaning; it is applied to young colored people of questionable reputation. To act like a nigrinha is equivalent to behaving badly.

175 >563 829 In the first years of colonization, Indians were often designated by the name of Negro. The use of this /12/ word, the true meaning of which has been established only recently, caused much embarrassment to historians who sought to unravel the respective role of Indians and Blacks in the formation of Brazilian civilization. A Portuguese law of 1755 stipulates that Indians must not be

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/12 cont./
175 called Negroes because of the ignominious and base implications
*563 of a term that puts them on the same footing as the people of the
829 coast of Africa destined to become slaves of the Whites. The true
African Negroes were at that time called Negroes of Guinea,
Negroes of the coast, or Negroes of nation, that is to say, of such
175 and such an African tribe. In a general way the term Negro was
829 applied to every slave, to the point that in 1773 a Portuguese
*563 monarch complained that in Brazil there were still "persons so
567 wanting in feelings of humanity and religion as to keep among
192 them slaves, some of whom are whiter than they themselves,
under the names of Blacks and Negresses, or even métisses /plural
829 feminine form of métis, a person of mixed blood/." The sons of
*563 African Negroes born in Brazil were called creoles, a term ap-
plied even today, in the feminine, to black women and mulattresses
192 who dress like the Bahian women, with the troquette, the very full
291 skirt, the white, embroidered, and very décolleté blouse, and the
794 colored shawl around the bust, a costume worn by the Africans of
Nigeria and even in our day, with certain local modifications, by
the women belonging to the religious cults of African origin, the
*563 candomblés. The creoles of Bahia constitute a typical spectacle
794 in the streets of the city; one can see them there, making their
443 way to a fetishist-cult center or sitting beside stalls in which they
262 display, especially during the popular festivals, the foods of the
famous local cuisine, which is also of African origin to a great
extent.

*563 The words pardo and mestiço, both having, as we have seen,
829 the meaning of mulatto, serve to designate the descendants of a
cross between Europeans and Blacks. Every variation of these
192 types, depending on the intensity of the color or the nature of the
826 hair, was formerly designated by a particular name fallen into
disuse today. One speaks of light mulatto or dark mulatto, ac-
cording to the predominance of one or the other of the characteris-
tics; the light mulattoes, when their hair is very similar to that of
Whites, are also called cabo verdes or rôxos. A young girl showing
[196] few traces of crossbreeding is a roxinha or even a cabrocha; in
this case the inhabitants of Bahia use a diminutive in order to remove
from the word any pejorative meaning.

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/12 cont./
*563 from the word any pejorative meaning. In fact, to say a
829 "mulattress" in speaking of a young girl of a certain social class
192 is in a way less courteous than to say "a little mulattress" (*una*
826 *mulatinha*). Very often, in speaking of a person of distinction, one does not use any of these terms; one then says "a person of color" or "a /13/ dark person." A swarthy métis with slightly frizzy hair, whose features link him with the Whites, is a *moreno*, especially if he belongs to an upper social class. A journalist, recently describing a part of the city where a large number of colored people are found together, wrote that "one meets beautiful mulattresses there." If the latter belong to the lower classes and if they are poor, they are simply mulattresses: if they are *granfinas* (1), they become light *morenas*; and one could even add *morenas* the color of *jambo* (2).

1. *Granfino*, *granfina* may be translated by "very refined."

[824] 2. *Jambo*, fruit of the jambevio, a Myrtaceae (*Eugenia* sp.).

[533] One finds numerous references to women of this type in the popular
[541] songs launched on the occasion of the famous Brazilian carnival.
In the journals reporting accidents, crimes, or other facts in which
[204] mulattoes happen to be involved, even from the poorest classes,
it is rare to come across the word mulatto, for which *pardo* or
*563 *morena* is preferred. The feminine form, moreover, has a sentimental
562 value: it suggests a slightly pigmented skin and features
829 of a beauty peculiar to these "women so sought after and preferred
192 in greater number," as one of our informants told us. Because of
826 this preference, the *morena* type has been celebrated in prose and
in verse by our writers. And this *morena*, it goes without saying,

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826 *563 562 829 192 [113]

/13 cont./
may not be of African blood (3).

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829 *563 192 [178] [196] 175 829 648 641 -576 192

The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony: it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the Whites in the military roles of the time.

192 178 829 576

The word meanwhile lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a compliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of good manners.

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The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.

144 *563 829

The exact designation of these different types has always /14/ represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the persons charged with identifying school children, the military, the criminals (1).

144 *563 829 815 [113]

1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

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/14 cont./

144 a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light
x563 mulattoes tending to revert to the white
829 race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product
815 tending to revert to the black race, some
almost completely identified with the
creole Negroes, the others more easily
separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos,
products of the cross between White and
Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of
the three races and especially the cross
between the mulatto and the Indian or
144 with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur
x563 Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra
829 no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/,
114 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of
[113] which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil,
Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by
Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York,
1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same
classification, but proposes that, in order
to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words
pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

144 In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of
x563 Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia
829 stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according
659 to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo,
métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long
time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The
métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son
of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White
and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that
are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the
mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro
traits."

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/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
659 with persons designated as mulattoes, *pardos*, or *morenos*, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of *moreno* or *pardo*, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but *morenas*, sometimes saying that their children are *moreninhos* (little *morenos*) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more *morenos* or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are *branco*, *pardo*, and *preto*. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one
day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a *morena* informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily
explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

[113] 1. M. Julia Pourchet, *Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr* /Contribution

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/15 cont./

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[113]

to the anthropophysical study of the colored child/, Rio de Janeiro, 1939.

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The author of these pages has classified, according to their respective photographs, 30 social-club members of the male sex belonging to the well-educated people of Bahia, and showed them to a young white girl of the middle class, to a métise of modest class, a student of the social sciences, and to a métis in charge of the administration of the same club, asking them to classify them in turn. Here are the descriptions applied according to the judgment of each identifier:

Designation	Number of individuals of each type (1)			
	A	B	C	D
Whites	19	14	21	6
Brancos da terra . . .	1	11	2	-
Morenos	4	-	6	19
Mulattoes	6	5	1	5

1. A, author; B, young white girl; C, métisse student; D, métis functionary.

The four classifications agree only in certain instances: this was a matter of the Whites whose phenotype was obvious; in five cases, three agreed with regard to the classification of a White who was classified by the fourth as *moreno*; in 14 cases the opinions were divided by half and so on.

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Most of the light métis are identified as *morenos* in the registers in which are inscribed the members of the social clubs, religious brotherhoods, in the lists of students of an establishment for university instruction examined at the end of the investigation. When it was requested of different persons of the middle class, most of

/For a general theoretical background to the study of "race" and related phenomena in Bahia, Brazil, see category 116, pp. v-viii, xi-xiii, xix-lvi, lix, lxi-lxxi, lxxiii-lxxxiii, 3./

[SALVADOR]

/15 cont./
829 whom practiced a liberal profession and were graduates of the
*563 University of Bahia, to classify according to their type the persons
125 carried on the list of physicians and pharmacists registered at
565 the Ministry of Public Health, representatives of the State and
/16/ federal representatives, university professors, members of
the local academy of letters, and other associations of the city,
there too the term moreno was most often used to designate the
métis. Those who used the expression "mulatto" were rare. As
[177] a result of the influence exerted by North American films, one
[192] sometimes hears mention of "colored" /quoted in English/; a
local journal described a politician of Bahia with this term, and
a woman questioned by us acknowledged being "colored" /quoted
in English/.

829 In a recent book a writer of the city sums up the semantic
*563 problems in relation to the characterization of local types in
192 this way: "A light Black is called mulatto, the light mulatto is a
moreno, a blond becomes a sarará. As for pardo, no one knows
what that is. White fino is said of those persons whose origin and
appearance do not show this "margin" thanks to which one infallibly
recognizes crossbreeding. And those who are whites of
mixed blood do not like to show the portraits of their ancestors" (1).

[113] 1. J. Valadares, Beabá da Bahia /ABC's of Bahia/ 1951, p. 91.

829 The foreigners, who are relatively limited in number in the
*563 city, are easily distinguished by the majority of people. A
European with strange manners, speaking Portuguese with great
difficulty, or expressing himself in another language, is simply
considered a "foreigner," particularly if he has a light and pink
skin, blue eyes, and fine, blond hair. A Brazilian showing these
characteristics is accused of being a "foreigner type" or a "German
829 type." Foreigners may also be called gringos, whatever their
*563 physical characteristics may be. The Spaniards, who are very
[192] numerous in the grocery business, are sometimes called the
"gringos of the grocery business." The Russian, Polish, and

[SALVADOR]

/16 cont./

829 *563 Rumanian Jews who devote themselves to the furniture business or who practice selling on credit are called in a bloc: the "Russians"; the common people do not know that they are Israelites, and in the majority of cases do not even know the term "Jew." The Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and Turks, proprietors of small and medium-sized business houses in the center of the city, are indiscriminately called "Arabs," and their descendants, provided they are recognizable by their features, are the "sons of Arabs." /Ills. 1 and 2 appear here./

/17/ A Minimum of Tension in Bahia Society

633 *563 Bahia is considered one of the most "Brazilian" communities of the whole country because of the extremely limited number of foreigners that its population contains and because it continues to be formed of those same elements that constituted the population of Brazil from the beginning. In the entire State of Bahia, at the time of the 1940 census, there were 204 foreigners per 1,000 Brazilians, grouped for the most part in the capital; in the course of the last ten years this number has very likely increased, but the total population has also grown and maintains its homogeneity. These foreigners form small groups (1) distinct from the Bahians through certain physical traits, but above all through their cultural characteristics (those that one calls "Russians" or "Arabs," for example) or through their professional specializations (for example, the Spaniards). An [578] antagonism between some of these groups and the Brazilians gives rise to moderate discrimination in certain social sectors, but it is rarely expressed by a declared hostility or in an active form of segregation.

1. Spaniards, 2,115; Portuguese, 1,912; Syrians, Lebanese, etc., 1,059; Italians, 950; Germans and Austrians, 592; North Americans, 83; European Russians, 168, etc.

5: Azevedo--19 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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1. A colored business-man.

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At the University

[SALVADOR]

/17 cont./

175 Given the isolation in which Brazil remained at least until
439 1808, the moment when for the first time its ports were opened
167 to international commerce, given too the fact that Bahia was
829 never a center of massive European immigration, like certain
609 southern states, the foreigner is received by the people of Bahia
with a mixture of curiosity and distrust. At the same time,
*563 the emigrant is easily absorbed here by the milieu and likewise
adapts himself to the customs and norms of local life. The
829 Portuguese emigrants, for example, are put in a special category;
*563 one has the habit of saying that not one of them is ever, properly
speaking Brazilian, but that he is never, properly speaking, a
foreigner either. In spite of the two world wars, one nowhere notes manifestations of antipathy with regard to German, Austrian, or Italian emigrants. The nationals of these nations have, in general, an excellent reputation because they are considered good workers, because they marry Brazilians and remain in the country when their businesses prosper. The vast majority of the population and even the persons who are hostile to the "Russian" merchants never have anti-Semitic sentiments. When, however, a Jewish group publicly protested against the presentation of a European musician accused of having had ties with Hitlerism in the past, the association that organizes concerts of famous musicians rejected "this attempt at outside interference dictated by /18/ racial prejudice," declaring that its activities ought to remain "above all religious, philosophical, political, racial, or class prejudice." And yet numerous Israelites are members of this association.

The "Arabs," although living quite isolated in accordance
[443] with their customs, marry Brazilians, and no hostility is ever
[178] manifested with regard to them; at the time when some of them
were carrying on the trade of itinerant vendors of fabrics and hardware, they were ridiculed somewhat, it is true, but that stopped with the disappearance of the last peddlers.

[SALVADOR]

/18 cont./

829 The irregularities and inadequacies of electric service in
365 the city are attributed by many inhabitants of Bahia to what
they call the "contempt of the Americans for the well-being of
the people," as if the Americans were the only ones responsible
for the operation of the American-Brazilian enterprise that produces
electricity for the region. Everything that is or is supposed
to be American otherwise enjoys great prestige. There is, however,
829 a foreign group against which (or, more precisely, against
*563 the hidden "trust" that it represents) there exists a very strong
578 hostility, although it manifests itself only on certain occasions.
[443] It is a matter of emigrants from Spanish Galicia, accused of exploiting
the populace owing to the monopoly that they have acquired
in the grocery and bakery business. At certain times when tension
[152] is particularly strong, as in 1930, and following the rapid
[458] rise of the price of commodities of prime necessity at the beginning
[579] of the last world war, the populace gave free vent to its
discontent by plundering certain Spanish business establishments.
But the attitude of the Bahians toward the person of these immigrants
is free of lasting animosity, and marriages between the two
[261] groups are frequent. The fact remains, however, that the population
attributes to the Spaniards the shortage of certain food
commodities, especially bread, and it accuses these emigrants
of "enriching themselves off of the misery of the people."

529 The recreational associations of the English, Spaniards,
*563 Syrians, and Lebanese are frequented by Brazilians. Likewise
575 the hospitals maintained by the Portuguese and Spanish colonies
743 are managed by Brazilian doctors and receive numerous patients
from Bahia, white or colored.

795 The religion of the Catholic majority is traditionally much
more external and ritualistic than dogmatic, the religiosity of a
771 large number of those who call themselves "strict Catholics" being
chiefly theoretical. This must have constituted a serious difficulty
for the clergy; it is also a subject of astonishment for the
visitor who imagines that he will come in contact with "the most
798 Catholic of Brazilian cities." The antagonisms between religious
621 groups are also moderate in this domain and /19/ never affect the

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

798 [621] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162] [795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antago-
[871] [777] nism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings
[829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

665 This means that Brazilians born in other States have made
666 careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to
578 represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or
829 at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover,
[646] had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination;
577 the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good
181 manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criti-
182 cized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

641 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions
829 between the groups that confront one another in the society of
186 Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism
*563 exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

/20 cont./

829 "the mulattoes, especially the lightest ones, are the worst
*563 enemies of other métis and the Blacks. It is they who have the most prejudice and who offer the most resistance to the social ascent of persons of color." These feelings are, in part, the formulation of class anatagonisms between morenos and light mulattoes of high rank, "whites socially speaking," and the darker persons who strive to improve their position in the society.

829 According to a woman occupying a public office, the heads
*563 of her department, who are pardos in different degrees, recom-
466 mend to their subordinates that they hire only attractive candidates and not take into consideration "black or homely women."

/21/

Population Increase and Crossbreeding

*563
162 A very significant fact and one that testifies to the good racial relations in Bahia is the intensity of crossbreeding. There are in the city approximately 400,000 inhabitants, of whom almost 20 o/o are Blacks, 47 o/o métis, the majority mulattoes, and
*563 33 o/o Whites. Everywhere one sees persons of all ages, inter-
571 mingled without any distinction of type, men and women, gathered in the most frequented places, commenting on the events of the day, appraising the coming and going in the streets or discussing politics and sports, drinking in the cafés, walking in the environs and on the beaches, making purchases in the shops and in the markets, working in the mills, in the yards, in business firms and in the public administrations and the offices, traveling by means of public transportation, taking part in religious festivals and civic commemorations, without the least constraint. Friends,
[576) mulattoes, Whites, and Blacks, congratulate one another with a great display of embraces and handshakes; they sit down next to one another in the theater, in churches, in cafés, or in streetcars
*563 with the greatest ease. In accordance with local customs, con-
565 firmed by Pierson (1).
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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 421.

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more
565 in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

829 Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against
[656 the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the
[626 structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper
strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been
*563 a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the
[595 colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of
the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often
[567 polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the
[641 seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political
rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross-
[829 breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some
ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured
like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state.
[161 But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ-
[167 ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/
occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands
[567 to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of
Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in
[829 the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in
order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1):

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1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/22 cont./

175 a European traveler describes them as gigantic women with the
*563 opulent figures of ancient goddesses carved in blocks of black
[829] marble, who attracted attention by their "wealth of incom-
parable vigor" (2).

2. A. d'Assier, op. cit., p. 196.

[829] These were the women whom the Whites preferred as concubines.
Certain types of mulattresses and of morenas, especially when they
combined the traits of the two races from which they sprang,
were also very much sought after by the Whites.

*563 None of the other Brazilian States that have a large number
of Blacks presents as high a percentage of crossbreeding as Bahia.
This proves that this State has been the most important Afro-
[567] European ethnic melting-pot of Brazil. In truth, it is in our city
and in its environs, an ancient center of concentration of slaves,
*563 that the crossing has taken place with the greatest intensity. The
162 ratio between the number of Blacks and of métis, according to
the 1940 census, is 1 to 2.55 in Bahia, whereas in States such as
Minas Gerais, which has relatively the same number of Blacks,
it is only 1 to 1; in other States, such as Maranhão and Piaui,
which have, respectively, 27 o/o and 32 o/o Blacks, this ratio
[829] is 1 to 0.93 and 0.71. This results from the fact that in Bahia
the factors of segregation and of discrimination that lie heavily
on the darkest of its inhabitants are much less than in the other
175 States. The proportion of pure Blacks began to decrease from
*563 the second half of the last century, slave traffic having been
567 forbidden, and especially from 1888, the date of the definitive
161 abolition of slavery, when numerous ex-slaves emigrated to the
more prosperous regions of southern Brazil. At present, unfavor-
*563 able social and economic factors influence the conditions of life,
161 the birth and mortality rates of this group, and explain its
progressive diminution (3).

[113] 3. Thales de Azevedo, Civilização e
mestiçagem /Civilization and Crossbreeding/,
Livr. Progresso Edit., Bahia, 1951, p. 63.

[SALVADOR]

175 /22 cont./
829 The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners re-
567 served for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic
182 clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorpo-
797 rate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an im-
portant role in the establishment of good relations between races
in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the
175 other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported
171 slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable
829 "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized,
567 catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numer-
797 ous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts"
and became "Christians," with the same title as the European
colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious dis-
175 crimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the
797 preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly
198 in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the
567 Africans of different origins were able to understand one another.
175 They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated
567 by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended
79 to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received
[585] the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings
[764] and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they
marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems
of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian ceme-
teries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time
to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their
lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus com-
pletely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and
the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concern-
ing certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them
to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them
to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies
(batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of
[177] origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with
fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a
[771] large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

[E113] 1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

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/23 cont./

Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 334.

Because of crossbreeding and other sociobiological factors, the darkest group of black phenotype was gradually absorbed by ethnic blending; the Whites increased at a slightly faster rhythm, while the number of métis registered in the statistics as _pardos_ rose and gave birth finally, as a result of the mixture, to a group in which European ancestry predominated (2).

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 417.

"Among our ancestors there were already creoles of "clean belly" (_barriga limpa_). Their children, being themselves /24/ children of lighter men, tended progressively toward the color of their fathers. Perhaps Bahia is a city that contains many female Blacks and métisses of _barriga limpa_. Everybody remarks that we are moving toward a population totally of mixed blood but of white appearance (1)."

1. J. Valadares, op. cit., p. 91.

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In consulting the death certificates recorded between 1897 and 1938 (2),

2. A. Rabelo Leite, "A tuberculose do preto na Bahia /The tuberculosis of the Black in Bahia/"; Cesar de Araujo, _Anais do I° Congresso Nacional de Tuberculose_ /Annals of the First National Tuberculosis Congress/, Vol. I, 1930; see also E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," _American Sociological Review_, Vol. VII, No. 4, 1942, p. 467.

one can see that the proportional quantities of each type varies in our city as shown below:

[SALVADOR]

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Year	Percentage of ethnic types		
	Whites	"Pardos"	Blacks
1897	32.61	29	38.39
1907	32.71	34.74	32.55
1917	32.81	39.55	27.64
1927	32.91	43.61	23.48
1938	33.02	47.37	19.61
1940 (1)	28.74	51.11	20.13

[114]

1. Figures of the national census, which differ from those relating to mortality because of a difference of evaluation in the classification of the types.

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*563 The rapid growth of the white group, through the incorporation of "whitened" métis, and thanks to the better social and economic conditions of the upper strata of the population, to which the vast majority of the descendants of Europeans belong, means that in the total figure, in relation to the Whites the proportion of colored persons is decreasing at the same time that the proportion of métis is increasing, which is clearly shown by the census:

Year	Proportions in relation to one White	
	Colored persons	"Pardos"
1872	3.16	1.88
1890	2.84	2.70
1940	2.57	2.55

*563 The intensity of crossbreeding is actually so great that, as a well-known intellectual of Bahia notes, "the autochthonous fino White is no more than a historic memory" (3).

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3. Prado Valadares, Remirando o cáos /Again Considering the Chaos/, Bahia, 1933.

[SALVADOR]

/25/

Opinions about Colored People

829 The presence of so many colored people in their region has
*563 never constituted a preoccupation or a mark of inferiority for the
538 people of Bahia. The authors of school manuals for primary and secondary education, the political men in their election campaigns, the preachers in their sermons, the journalists in the writing of editorials and news refer to the important contribution of the African slaves to the Brazilian economy and praise certain traits of theirs, natural kindness, good nature, resignation, with which they have enriched the psychology of the nation. In the folklore, in tourist propaganda, in the caricatures that accompany political criticisms, Bahia is generally represented as the Bahian mulattress wearing the characteristic costume of women affiliated with the candomblé. Even in the publications intended for the foreigner, the authorities never intentionally reduce the high percentage of the descendants of Africans in the local population (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Impressoes do Brasil no século vinte /Impressions of Brazil in the Twentieth Century/, Lloyd's Greater Britain Publishing Co. Ltd., London, 1913, p. 873.

*563 Condemning the attitude of a professor accused of making
[204] humiliating remarks to a colored student, a newspaper of Bahia wrote that even if there were no other reasons for condemning racial discrimination in Bahia, "there will always remain the great contribution that the black race has made to its civilization, to its development." The professor, in his reply, claimed that he too recognized the merit of "many colored people who have elevated themselves so much in society by their personal worth, the fruit of study and of work."

*563 Some authors, however, in the past and under the influence
829 of a simplistic evolutionism, have expressed the conviction that the colored people represented a misfortune for Bahia, because of the "psychic inferiority" of the Negro. One of them regarded the black element as a "refractory element in civilization" and

[SALVADOR]

/25 cont./

*563 829 condemned crossbreeding because "in all the countries colonized by the white and colored races there is a substantial difference between the aims of civilization and the savage impulses of individuals of mixed blood or of inferior blood. Civilized or not, the natives, the Africans and their descendants never entirely lose the barbaric customs." Even today such an opinion is very widespread, although it is expressed very discreetly in conversations and almost never in writing; an intellectual who considers himself "progressive," even if he thought that way, would avoid openly expressing this thought. One sometimes hears it said that the slowness of economic development /26/ and the resistance of Bahia to cultural evolution are due to the large number of Blacks in its population, "because the Blacks do not have any ambition." "Anyone who does not think so," an economist suggests in an article devoted to the advantages of foreign immigration, "does not recognize our historic, economic, and racial precedents." "During the period of slavery," he continues, "the Blacks lived like beasts of burden, as ignorant as animals, without family organization (their servile condition made it impossible for them), they brought with them numerous endemic diseases and fetishist practices from their continent of origin; finally, with abolition, the slaves left the fields and came to the cities in order to beg, pillage, give themselves up to all sorts of vices, and to cause all sorts of nuisances." In other parts of Brazil it is not rare to hear the same opinions expressed about our State. Toward the middle 829 of the last century, an author of great renown wrote from Rio de Janeiro: "Let us make a parallel between the development of the province of Bahia, which had relatively the largest number of Blacks, and the Rio Grande do Sul, which contains the strongest center of European colonists! While agriculture, commerce, and the revenues of the first decrease visibly, the other province prospers in all spheres..." (1).

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1. A. C. Tavares Bastos, Cartas do solitário /Letters of the Solitary/, (1862), 3rd edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, p. 164.

[SALVADOR]

/26 cont./

829 458 439 175 This author here alludes to the disturbances that the economy of Bahia underwent from the time of the suppression of the slave traffic and Europe's adoption of beet sugar, which brought about the almost total stoppage of the importation of sugar cane, the basis of the wealth of our city.

829 *563 As for the mulattoes, while some declare that there is not "a chapter of our political or social history in which the remarkable personality of a métis does not glitter with particular brilliance," others, along with some praise, make strong reservations. A jurist and scholar of great repute (2) considered the description of the mulatto given by an author of [157] Bahia excellent: "The mulattoes are in general vain, intelligent, and inclined toward the pleasures of life in society... They have good hearts" (3).

Although many people consider the Black an inferior being with regard to intelligence, almost no one questions the talent and the intellectual possibilities of the mulattoes. "If," says another economist from Bahia, "we turn toward the intellectual qualities and characteristic morals of the modern civilized man, the classic exponent of which is the European: universality of spiritual horizon, logical and systematic mind, technical gifts, tenacity and energy in the struggle for individual or social rights, and if we consider our most representative men, that is /27/ to say, our strongest personalities, we see among them many Blacks and mulattoes." And he concludes by asserting that the Afro-Brazilians are by no means inferior to the descendants of immigrants who came from more highly civilized and more purely

[113] 2. Almachio Diniz, Historia racial do Brasil, São Paulo, 1934, p. 155.

3. Sa Oliveira, op. cit., p. 21.

[SALVADOR]

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white countries (1).

1. Romulo Almeida, interview for the Diario Trabelhista, 28, 11, Rio de Janeiro, 1946.

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The mulattoes, according to others, are supposed to be affected in their manner of speaking, wishing to display their erudition. The comment of a journalist about a politician is characteristic of this way of thinking: "Without complexes or repressions... he reasons dispassionately, which is astonishing on the part of a red curiboca (2)

[192]
[826]

2. Curiboca, métis of Indian and Black; roxo, bluish red, a warm and dark shade of the pigmentation of the skin of certain métis.

like him. Not having the tropical verbosity of mulatto good speakers..., he is mentally a Nordic who sets forth his ideas without the cerebral complications such as are esteemed among the bachelor /referring to the academic degree/ morenos of our country" (3).

[154]

3. "This tendency to use an elaborate language seems to be a sort of compensation for a feeling of inferiority," says V. L. Bicudo in "Attitudes raciales des Noirs et des mulâtres de São Paulo /Racial attitudes of the Blacks and mulattoes of São Paulo/," Sociologia, Vol. IX, No. 3, São Paulo, 1947, p. 211.

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Opinions about the mulattoes, especially about those who try to advance themselves by means of intellectual activities, always throw into relief the weak points of their personality and almost always give an unfavorable interpretation of their character. A literary critic of Bahia, commenting on the works of the greatest Brazilian novelist, the mulatto Machado de Assis, expresses this

[SALVADOR]

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opinion in this way: "What marks our métis even more, as a result of the residues accumulated in his soul by social evolution, is the lack of temperament, of psychology, and of character, with the consequences that this inevitably brings on the plane of the mental life. If a Brazilian mulatto is intellectually capable and sometimes superior, he is, on the other hand, never well-bred, stable, balanced, or energetic. It is from the moral and psychological point of view that he reveals a great inferiority, which cannot fail to influence the social harmony, given the part that he takes in Brazilian life" (4).

[113] 4. Afrânio Coutinho, A filosofia de Machado de Assis /The philosophy of Machado de Assis/, Rio de Janeiro, 1940, p. 80.

For all these reasons the words "mulatto" and "métis" can be used to throw into relief the bad moral qualities of a colored person, as though his pigmentation or his ethnic traits aggravated his shortcomings. In the course of a press dispute someone wrote: "these kinds of mulattoes who surround you," "this métis who gives you his support"; but the discussion had nothing to do with the racial problem. An anonymous epigram that circulated through the city a few years ago about a certain intellectual began with the words mulato pachola (5).

[192] 5. Pachola = lazy, vain, braggart, qualifications that are very often attributed to cultured mulattoes, to such a point that the insulting adjective pachola is at present attributed almost solely to persons of this type.

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/28/ There is, however, in spite of this, no active hostility against the mulattoes as a group. Judgments such as those we have related are stereotypes applied especially to individuals who, by virtue of their superior education or aspirations more ambitious than those of their group, tend to detach themselves from it. Let us remember,

[SALVADOR]

/28 cont./
829 moreover, that, in certain cases, they are applied to persons who
*563 actually strive to compensate for their feeling of inferiority by an
affected manner of speaking and behavior.

/29/ Color Is a Mere Accident

The expression "black with a white soul" is used as much in
Bahia as in the rest of the world, wherever it is believed that a
Black, in order to be good, must necessarily possess the qualities
of the White. It is most significant that such a way of thinking
[115] finds followers even among colored people. The mother, morena,
of one of our informants said that "the Black is black inside and
out," and that if she were to marry again she would certainly never
829 marry a man as dark as her husband. In a publication in which,
*563 20 years ago, an association of Blacks commemorated the first
538 centenary of its founding, one can read on the first page: "If we
examine the archives of the society or if we leaf through its books,
[577] we shall see there this contrast: black men having a very high
ideal, perfect characters, irreproachable sentiments, and, above
all, very noble aspirations."

There are also, fortunately, those who deny the intellectual and moral inferiority of the Black. In an article appended to the statutes of another organization of colored people, it is explained that "what happens is that the Black, because he is poor, lacks the necessary tranquillity to which, for him as for the white man, is owed intellectual progress, the source of comfort and joy. Moreover, always tortured by the injustice that pursues him, he should have become a rebel rather than the efficient collaborator that he is, an element in the continuous ascent and moral and intellectual improvement of the Brazilian population." There is in these judgments, along with a complaint, the refutation of the theory of the innate mental inferiority of the black and the idea that there is a contrast between the dark color of the skin and noble aspirations.

[SALVADOR]

/29 cont./

829 Colored persons often repeat that "color is a mere accident,"
*563 an expression that goes back very far in Bahia. A famous dark mulatto intellectual, president of an important scientific association, stated in a speech, in which he denounced a decision of the League of Nations on the discriminatory treatment to be applied to the human races, that: "To discuss the rights of man, even human dignity, as if they depended on an accident, that of color, is to repudiate centuries of struggle among the most glorious in the history of civilization" (1).

[113] 1. Teodoro Sampaio, in Rev. Instituto Geogr. e Historico da Bahia, No. 45, 1919, p. 179.

A black judge, who is at the head of an association of colored people, also considers that color "is an accident to which one pays no attention among us." That is the reason why few families [867] of the highest classes /30/ of society develop in their children an awareness of their own type, or, if they do, they never associate with this notion a feeling of inferiority or resentment. A Black relates that he did hear his parents make comments about the disadvantages of being of dark color, but the way in which they did it was neither bitter nor hostile. A pardo educator believes that it is not necessary to conceal from the child a feeling about his color, for "that, being purely physical, is of no importance." The attitude of a girl, likewise parda, whose father, White, but married to a mulattress, does not like people of dark color, is different; she herself does not like them, although she claims to feel no shame about her "quality." Her feeling of inferiority is clearly revealed when she says that she has a friend, son of Syrians, who wants to marry her, although of a "race superior" to her own.

829 Among certain individuals the consciousness of class goes be-
*563 yond the consciousness of race. A mulatto official relates that
565 when he was a child he did not feel any different from his companions at school and play from a city in the interior of the State; it was only when his family became very poor that he realized

[SALVADOR]

/30 cont./

829 he was a mulatto. His own mother called his attention to the
*563 difference that existed between him and his friends, but those
565 who were of his type and who had money continued to regard
themselves as Whites and to be treated as such. An economist,
darker than the official we have just quoted, states that the extreme
poverty in which he lived during his childhood did not permit
him to think of his color. An intellectual of a dark color
says that when he was an adolescent he never thought of his type;
no experiences previous to this period were associated with an
[572] awareness of his color. The same thing seems to happen among
white children when lasting relationships are allowed to be established
between them and their companions at school and play,
without discrimination as to type. Numerous informants of very
dark color report that they still maintain several friendships made
at school with *finos* Whites. Even among the adults there are some
who claim not to have ever been conscious of their type. An
(115) instructor told us that he was never preoccupied with his pigmentation,
because he regarded that as having nothing to do with his
difficulties or with his professional life. It is clear that statements
[124] of this nature cannot be accepted solely at their face value; they
[123] could, as a matter of fact, be defense reactions against the inquiries
of the investigators.

*563 There are nevertheless persons who do not succeed in overcoming
829 the inferiority complex resulting from their "quality."
571 "A look is enough to upset a person of dark color," said a /31/
very black university student. Sometimes when he had been
treated as a "Negro" he was irritated and felt humiliated. "But
I have succeeded in overcoming this feeling," he adds; "I too
am able to treat other "Whites" without antipathy as soon as I see
that they are prepared to be pleasant with me." Without doubt
there exists "a slight repression" among the Blacks, "but it is
never intense and ought to be overcome," states a mulatto lawyer,
and he adds that "such a feeling can give birth to a servile attitude";
one of his colleagues, of the same color as he, a very
competent and industrious man, does not have the courage to
plead cases for himself and continues to be simply the assistant
of a white lawyer.

{SALVADOR}

/31 cont./
829 of a white lawyer. Certain colored persons, finally, claim to be
*563 proud of this color. A young girl of high rank claims to have no
regrets about being black and insists that her true "quality" be
[154] recorded in all official documents. This may also be a defense
reaction, especially since this informant has a personality clearly
marked by a frustration complex associated with her physical condition.
It is said that when an employee hesitated about the term
by which he had to describe, in an official document, the color
of a very well-known man of liberal profession, the latter, guessing
his difficulty, told him to write "mulatto," "for," he added, "I am
a mulatto without any doubt."

829 Certain individuals are accused of isolating themselves in
571 order not to feel obliged to live in the "inferior" world to which
*563 they belong because of the pigmentation of their skin. This
arouses a certain resentment on the part of the Blacks who
attribute this behavior to the shame that these persons have about
their type, and to the desire never to be seen "among those of
[184] their category." Our informants state that such a way of behaving
[562] is common among the women of the middle or upper class.
Nevertheless the tendency to accept such segregation is not general.
[565] A dark black official relates his experiences thus: "Racial problems
do not affect me. I am very well received everywhere, even
among the most distinguished families; I give Portuguese lessons
to their sons, and they value my friendship. A well-bred Black
has access to all milieus. There is no discrimination among the
men; it is among the women that one perceives this tendency very
[576] clearly. Some are content to be discourteous, avoiding shaking
the hand of Blacks whom they meet among the Whites. Nevertheless,
when they take a fancy to a colored man, they are capable of
behaving foolishly." "Undoubtedly," he adds, "in certain milieus
I feel isolated." It is interesting to note that this informant is one
of the few who are concerned about discrimination, but he, like
most of the others, is without rancor and is confident that he is
compensated for it by the good relations that he maintains with his
/32/ white colleagues in the important State administration where
he works, where he has occupied positions of management, and where
he has had to perform missions calling for great responsibility.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 156 On the whole, the Blacks speak with calmness, and, even
when they are very reserved toward the investigator, they show a
certain psychological assurance and a good adjustment to the conditions
of life in Bahia. Here, too, there are obviously exceptions:
one man practicing a liberal profession and who is thought
to have had worries because of his color, proves reticent and even
reserved. "He feels inferior because of the fact that he is black,"
other Blacks say; "for this reason he frequently causes trouble."
The informants state that there are mulattoes who, wishing to
conceal their origin, avoid appearing in the company of their
own parents of black color. One young man practicing a liberal
[593] profession, highly esteemed, is covered with praise because he
does not have such prejudices; although married to a White, he
goes everywhere with his mother, a Black of the most beautiful
black, and introduces her to all his friends. On the other hand,
another man of the same milieu and the same "quality" is criticized,
because, according to some, "he does not wish to be black
and for that reason he hides his old mother." Another Black is
regarded as full of prejudice and as a racist, "because he prefers
to go around with the Whites and he likes to appear in public with
women whiter of complexion than of reputation." Some of his
colleagues of the same profession and the same social rank regard
him as one "repressed," one who is ashamed of being black. "And,"
it is added, "there are many like him, who, if they could, would
be white!"

829 *563 576 There is no doubt but that certain Whites, including light
and dark mulattoes, treat the Blacks and colored persons of humble
social class with a certain air of superiority. They do so more
rarely with individuals of the same rank as they. To say to someone's
face that he is inferior because of his color would be a serious
offense, according to the etiquette that governs the relations between
[571] individuals of different types in Bahia. A moreno educator,
native of a northern State, says that during the nine years that he
lived in Bahia he was able to observe this mutual respect between
persons of different "qualities," provided they were of the same
social rank, while in his State colored people are treated with
contempt.

[SALVADOR]

/32 cont./

829 *563 565 156 contempt. In the highest strata of Bahia society, our informants say, a colored person generally does not suffer humiliations. It may even be that he is recognized as belonging to the most respected groups. A very dark Black practicing a liberal profession is irritated because in the organization where he works many people who do not know him take him for an office boy or an employee of inferior category. A female official, /Figs. 3 and 4 appear here/ /33/ on the contrary, says that she and her family are fortunate and do not attribute any of their difficulties to the fact that they are dark mulattoes. "If I have never been able to pursue a career as I wished, it is because my father was poor and died young. For that reason I always say at home that we must not speak of certain things... Some people might believe that we suffer because of our color."

[562] Among girls, who are more accustomed to discrimination than men, the feeling of inferiority can take quite peculiar forms; thus, a university student claims not to be disgusted with her color, "but she would like to be less homely." Finally, while not acknowledging it, a black woman practicing a liberal profession let the same frustration complex show by saying that she was very discouraged, when she was young, to hear herself called "a pretty little Black."

829 *563 565 571 An important aspect of the problem is created by the fact that the Blacks and the dark mulattoes of urban working circles, to the extent that they are aware of their civil and political rights, are less inhibited in their behavior in front of Whites. The latter feel resentment at the way in which "impudent Negroes" speak loudly in the street, pass in front of them, and do not yield them their place in the tramways and other means of transportation. These incidents take on an aggressive significance in the eyes of those who lay claim to being the dominant class by virtue of their physical or social appearance. In many cases the Blacks do not make use of their color as a distinctive sign of their group. An important mutual-aid association for Blacks has taken as its emblem two white hands held out to each other as a symbol of solidarity. In one of its reports this same organization personifies its own activity by a picture representing a white woman carrying a white child and two other white children with European features, who hold her embraced.

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3. At the bedside of a sick person.

5: Azevedo--43 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
[Salvador]

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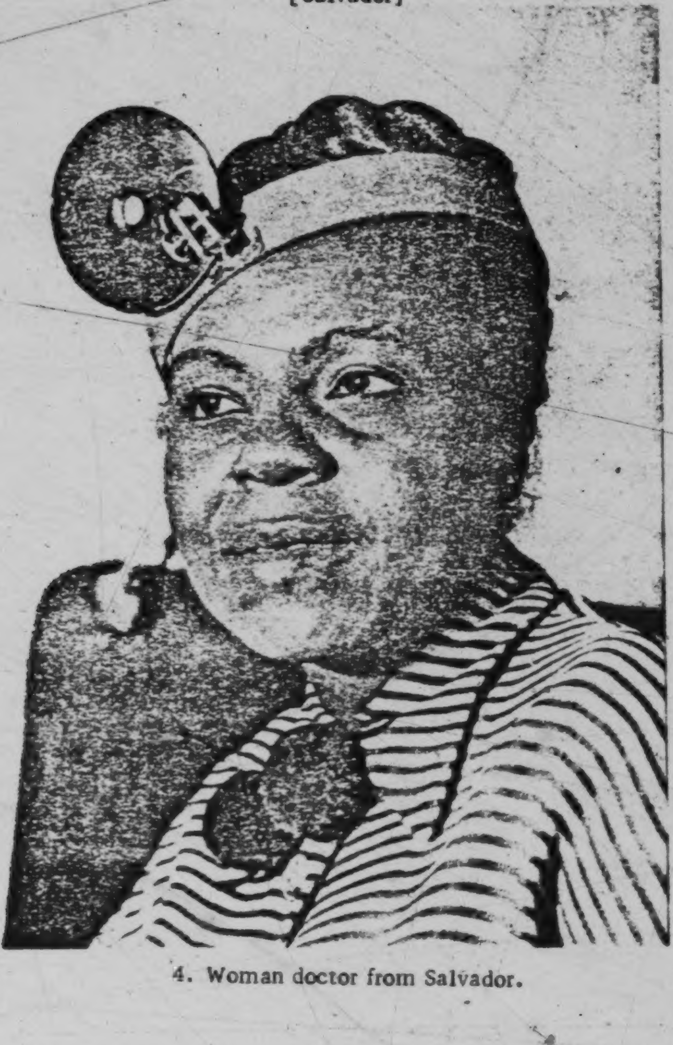

4. Woman doctor from Salvador.

[SALVADOR]

/34/ A Multiracial Society with Classes

565 [114] The structure of the classes of Bahia has never been described and analyzed from the sociological point of view, except very summarily by Donald Pierson (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 64.

As this scholar shows, one may say schematically that the population of Bahia consists of an "upper" class, to which belong the descendants of the old aristocracy, the great landowners and the merchants, the intellectuals and those who practice a liberal profession, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, politicians, officers of the armed forces, poets and journalists, university professors, the few industrialists that Bahia has produced, and a lower class made up of very poor people engaged in simple occupations, unskilled workmen and manual laborers. There is, furthermore, a stratum that one cannot exactly call a middle class, but rather an intermediate group, containing minor employees, petty officials, and tradesmen.

*563 555 565 As for their place in society, one may say that, although in general terms the status of the Bahians depends on their birth, there is no doubt that social ascent proceeds by way of free competition. Blacks and métis, as individuals, may, "by their personal merit or as the result of favorable circumstances, improve their social situation and even obtain a position in the upper strata of society; this position will be in keeping, not only with their color group, but with the whole of the community" (2).

2. Ibid., p. 419, 422; cf. also Frazier, art. cit., p. 477.

565 *563 [361] [362] The majority of colored persons, like all the lower class, lives in poor quarters, in the outskirts of the city or in small clusters of modest houses interspersed in the residential quarters of the higher classes; moreover, numerous colored families of intermediate or upper status live in these same quarters. Colored persons are admitted, according to their economic resources and

/34 cont./
*563 their degree of education, in the hotels and even more in the
565 boarding houses of various categories. They may freely visit
restaurants, cafés, teashops, cabarets; they frequently participate
*563 in dinner parties where they meet white friends. The newspapers
565 and magazines report anniversaries, marriages, the conferring
204 of diplomas, births, returns from travel, celebrations and tributes
received, or the death of any person whomsoever, without any
mention of type or color, printing portraits of either of them indiscriminately.
And when an individual is not well enough known
so that the newspapers spontaneously publish an article about
him, /35/ it is not rare to see his name or even his portrait reproduced,
after payment of the price of the announcement, in
*563 the column devoted to this kind of news. "Few persons," says a
565 White, "could have more prestige in Bahia society, thanks to their
exquisite manners and their elegance, than a university professor
and his wife, both mulattoes, had ten years ago."

Among the most highly placed families of the present-day
society of Bahia, says a morena informant, there are many who
"belong to the caste," who, in other words, are métisses, although
it would not be discreet to draw attention to the origin of these
[564] families. Since there are no castes, properly speaking, but merely
classes, colored people find their way into the world of the Whites,
even if they have pronounced black features; it is merely necessary
for them to approximate the "superior" dominant group by their
behavior. In order to show that she was born already assimilated
with the Whites, a woman practicing a liberal profession explains
that she is the daughter of a Black who was a domestic "in a milieu
other than that of the senzala" (1).

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1. Senzala = all the communicating houses of
poor quality where the slaves lived in the fazendas.

She considers herself a privileged creature of God, since she has
*563 all that she desires. "I am on good terms with people of the best
565 society. I choose my friends in all classes. I visit the clubs and
571 the government palace frequently. A short time ago the newspapers
[204] even published my picture beside the governor of the State in the
course of a luncheon that one of my friends gave in his honor."

[SALVADOR]

/35 cont./

*563 571 The Whites hope that colored people, especially the darkest ones, will be moderate in their attitude, behave modestly, and, in spite of their personal merits, maintain a certain distance, and colored people are not by any means unaware of this. A mulatto of liberal profession says, for example, that he goes only where his presence is necessary. "Often," says a Black, "the Black does not come up against barriers because, knowing the prejudices of the Whites, he does not go in certain places." Another Black, of liberal profession, thinks that colored people, in order to be able to elevate themselves in the social hierarchy, "must avoid doing certain things." Some of these "things," according to numerous informants, are aggressive attitudes, pretentious and affected manners, immoderate, ludicrous gestures." One individual, practicing a liberal profession, would be better received, for example, if he were not so aggressive and so conspicuous. He prizes being seated among the leaders of associations at the meetings he attends, and he always wants to appear in the photographs. On the occasion of a tribute rendered to a famous visitor, he took his place, before /36/ the session began, at the table of the presidency, causing by this action some irritation among the presiding officers of the association, some of whom are conscious of not being white."

*563 571 576 565 In a society of aristocratic traditions, such as that of Bahia, etiquette concerning the relations between people of different social levels is very important. A person who has "cheek," who oversteps the limits that his rank or his position of outsider sets for him, by resorting, without cause, to manners that reveal a certain intimacy or identity of positions, is always disliked, even if he is white. This is even worse if he is colored, for in this case he is accused not only of ill breeding, but even of brazenness, someone who "takes a great deal of liberty" with those whom he does not know or who "are not of his class." The word "class" used in this sense means a very low social status. "The opposition that appears against the social ascent of Negroes," said an almost black person, "is explained by their lack of education and their bad manners. It is the same with mulattoes, for if some are

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/36 cont./

*563 excessively humble and submissive, others are pretentious,
565 vicious, excessive in their manners, desirous of putting them-
571 selves forward." Two Blacks of liberal profession repeat almost
576 the same thing: "Color does not have a direct influence, but it entails certain consequences. Colored people, because of their origin, are humble, have customs that are peculiar to them, and are not prepared for the life of society. Their manners attract attention and displease well-bred people. Because of this, the persons belonging to this class and who detach themselves from it suffer from prejudices that hold sway over them. When one sees a Black elevate himself and when one has to deal with him, one always asks oneself whether he will have bad manners. It is only when one begins to know him that this impression is dispelled."

*563 No less important is adherence to the moral standards of the
565 higher classes in order to be accepted there. According to a highly esteemed and skilled mulatto of liberal profession, "the one who merits respect is respected, whatever his color may be" (1).

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1. Among the Yoruba, who made up a considerable part of the African slaves imported to Bahia, one often hears it said in the course of discussions on the subject of the social situation and classification that "one respects the one who respects himself," cf. W. R. Bascom, "Social Status, Wealth, and Individual Differences among the Yoruba," Am. Anthropologist, Vol. 53, No. 4, Part 1, Oct.-Dec., 1951, p. 504.

An amiable character also facilitates ascent and living with the Whites. As much among the latter as among colored persons, it is said of a dark mulatto educator that he is highly esteemed because of his good character, his gentle and subdued manners; likewise, the success of a Black of liberal profession /37/ is attributed to his communicative temperament, his joviality, and his even temper. But inasmuch as the problem of race relations,

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/37 cont./
*563 for many people, is more a question of class than a question of
565 race, "the primacy of culture and of class" having the ascendancy,
one may say with a mulatto educator that "if he has money, education,
and manners, the Black can elevate himself." This synthesis,
however, does not exhaust all the aspects of the problem. A
very dark woman of liberal profession declares that "a Black, in
order to elevate himself socially, must have talent and friendships."
[571] In truth, good personal and family relationships are very
important for everybody in Bahia, whether in trade, in administration,
or in politics. A maxim constantly cited by Brazilians
teaches that "a friend at hand is worth more than money in the till,"
which means that any enterprise is easier when the interested party
is given a "personal" introduction by a friend of the person with
whom he must deal. One informant insists on explaining that she
does not believe money has a great influence on the social ascent
of colored people; she knows several among them who, having
previously made a fortune, did not succeed in elevating themselves.
[156] "For in order to elevate oneself it is necessary not to have
an inferiority complex. There are many Blacks who not only do
not dare to approach Whites of a high class, but transmit this fear
to their children." The fact that the black color recalls the ancient
slaves is cited by many as an explanation for the difficulties that
[567] the darkest ones encounter in attaining a high rank. "Lately risen
[826] from the depths of slavery," writes a priest of mixed blood, "rare
are the Negroes who succeed in reaching a high level or position.
[571] As for mulattoes and morenos (who are not true Blacks), we can
say that, from all points of view, they live in harmony with the
Whites, at least here in Bahia." A doctor makes the same comment:
"As far as the morenos are concerned, they have a position
equivalent to that of the Whites; but it is not correct to say that
the Blacks can easily attain the highest offices or positions of the
first order in the most esteemed professions. As for mulattoes, one
finds some of them in the positions that we have just named,
without being able to deny, however, that for the métis whose
color closely approaches that of the Negroes, this pigmentation of
the skin creates obstacles to the various careers mentioned. On

[SALVADOR]

/37 cont./

*563 565 the other hand, the métis with straight hair and a color very close to that of the white race could succeed in the different branches of human activity without having to suffer any annoyance of an ethnic nature."

[826] Notwithstanding all these difficulties, colored people, especially the lightest ones and those whose features bring them closer /38/ to the Whites, may achieve a rank as high as the latter. As [114] will be seen in the following chapters, they may marry Whites, according to their social position; they may have a pre-eminent place in the liberal professions, in the intellectual life; they may be admitted into the organizations through which one acquires prestige and social rank, which confirms the thesis already set forth by Pierson, that "what we find in Bahia is a multiracial society of classes" (1).

1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 408.

*563 565 554 571 The social ascent of colored persons, although it is brought about with relative facility, is not without consequence for those who attain it. It is somewhat like "passing" /quoted in English/ for the North American Negroes: those who elevate themselves not only experience doubts and difficulties on the subject of their position, but they are also the object of resentment by some of those -- and they are numerous -- who remain in the lower strata of society.

When he elevates himself to the social rank that is to assimilate him culturally and socially with the White by endowing him with his "social skin," the Black is often criticized because he wants "to act the White" or because he "no longer wants to be colored." *563 565 554 571 124 Numerous informants pointed out certain colored individuals who are considered that kind and who, they said, would certainly refuse to be interviewed for the investigation. Some of them actually avoided speaking of the racial problem, politely diverting the conversation to other subjects, under the pretext that they did not know anything about the subject and all that was of no importance among us. The author, in spite of his experience in the milieus

[SALVADOR]

/38 cont./

*563 of Bahia, had some difficulty approaching some of the persons thus
565 mentioned. In certain cases, however, he was able to verify
554 that the imputations mentioned above are nothing but the in-
571 formants' reactions of resentment against people who are much
[124] higher or whom they judge superficially because they do not
know them personally. A number of persons questioned even
[829] showed great interest in race relations, declaring they had read numerous Brazilian or foreign books, had seen films on this subject, and liked to discuss this problem with persons belonging to the same type and to the same professional and social status as they; there were even two who declared they had thought a good deal about writing down their observations on this subject. In only one case a mulatto official replied with a certain irritation that this problem was not important and that the Blacks of Bahia did not elevate themselves socially because they were very "backward and bold."

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Interracial Marriages

For colored people, interracial marriage is a means of reaching the higher classes. Individuals with a lighter skin have the greatest possibilities of becoming white socially, and marriage between colored people and Whites gives the former prestige and offers them the prospect of having children closer to the preferred type.

*563 No law in Brazil forbids marriage between members of differ-
[585] ent races. The candidates for a civil or religious marriage simply present themselves before the authorities of the State or of the Church, provided with the necessary papers, such as certificate of birth or baptism, in which the type or the color are mentioned only for the purposes of identification.

The number of marriages between individuals who differ with regard to color is very high in Bahia. Out of 222 unions concluded
[162] some years ago, the man and woman were of the same color in 34 o/o of the cases; in 43 o/o the man was darker than the woman,

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 [162] and in 22 o/o the latter was darker (1).

[113] 1. Thales de Azevedo, "Um aspeto da mestiçagem na Bahia /An aspect of cross-breeding in Bahia/," Revista do Arquivo, Year XI, Vol. CI, São Paulo, 1945, p. 45.

But the frequency of true interracial marriages, that is to say, between persons belonging to different racial groups, is difficult to estimate by the customary methods of ethnic classification. In order to do this, it would be necessary to classify genetically the contracting parties or to study the genealogy of numerous families. Given the fact that individuals of "white" phenotype are sometimes métis (2),

[113] 2. Dr. Paul Rivet calls our attention to the facility with which the African Black has cross-bred with the Whites and Indians of South America. On this subject, see Les origines de l'homme américain /The Origins of the American Man/, Montreal, 1947. Also consult M. J. Herskovits, The Anthropometry of the American Negro, New York, 1930.

it becomes extremely difficult to acquire certitude that a marriage is interracial. What matters in this study, however, are the marriages between colored persons and persons "socially white," which undeniably are very frequent. Out of 1,269 marriages, Pierson found 3.3 o/o interracial, a figure actually very low for a region in which the barriers of color are so tenuous. These figures have surely been taken from a total of marriages of persons of all classes (3).

*563 162

3. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 209.

If we examine the situation in the intermediate and lower strata, one will see that the proportion may reach 20% or more.

[SALVADOR]

/39 cont./

*563 one will see that the proportion may reach 20 o/o or more. It [175] was not always so, however. Portuguese laws during the colonial period prohibited marriages of Whites with the natives and with 17 *563 567 Negroes. Once the slavery of the aborigines was abolished, marriage between these /40/ last and the Whites was permitted; but before that the Catholic clergy had already regularized by religious marriages the numerous concubinages between Portuguese colonists and native women. The marriages of Whites and natives with the Blacks continued to be forbidden for a long time yet, but as crossbreeding between Europeans and Africans increased because of free unions, the number of interracial marriages increased in parallel fashion, for in reality only marriages between free persons and slaves were forbidden. Finally, with the abolition of black slavery the last barrier set up against interracial marriages fell. Penalized before that, and for quite a long time, by severe 175 *563 626 social sanctions (1).

> 1. Ch. Expilly wrote in 1863: "The constitution has proclaimed the equality of the citizens. Prejudice stronger than the constitution raises an impassable barrier -- up to now at any rate -- between individuals who differ in the shade of their skin. One in vain distributes bedizenment, decorations, titles to men of mixed blood, no one becomes intimate with them. When has one seen a female White marry a mulatto? The one who would dare so boldly to affront the usages and customs of her country would be immediately rejected by everyone of pure race. She would be scorned, pointed at, excluded from the society in which in other times she was the ornament and pride," Mulheres e costumes do Brasil /Women and Customs of Brazil/, São Paulo, 1935, p. 279. [113]

000 These marriages increased after Independence, in 1822, with the

[SALVADOR]

These marriages increased after
175 /40 cont./ Independence, in 1822, with the
178 social ascent of mulattoes, military men, bureaucrats, lawyers
*563 graduated from Portuguese and French universities, a process
555 which was intense under the Brazilian monarchical regime and to which Bahia contributed liberally with statesmen and politicians coming from these groups (2).

2. G. Freyre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 951.

178 Social pressure against mixed marriages seems to have de-
*563 creased with time, and so the latter became more numerous
626 every day. Formerly the families of high society or of the
584 bourgeoisie verified the origin of fiancés with great care. Many
593 marriages came to grief because one of the future partners was found to belong to the "caste." The unions that were formed against the parents' wish were the cause of lasting quarrels between parents and children, and gave rise to veritable domestic tragedies. Many fathers cursed their daughters and disinherited them when they persisted in wanting to marry a man of "inferior quality," especially if he were a bastard. "In our day," a female informant told us, "one has it much easier." This indeed seems to be the general opinion.

*563 The mixed marriage is greatly sought after because it confers
557 prestige on the one of the two partners who is darker. A black professor made the remark to us that there are few colored men who, in marrying a light woman, think of "improving the race," but rather they hope to facilitate their own social ascent. Proof of this is the frequency with which this intention is /41/ implicitly indicated or even acknowledged. A colored employee flirts with white boys "for fun"; in fact, she is trying to get the man she wants, and she announces that she will never marry a man of dark color unless he is rich and well situated. Her mother approves entirely when she announces that she will not accept the advances of a man of dark color. Her three sisters have married Whites, and one of them is proud of her children who are blond. A student of the same physical type "prefers" *moreno* suitors, but admits that she would have no objection to marrying a White.

[SALVADOR]

/41 cont./

x 563 557 A young mulatto student boasts of already having had eight flirtations with women lighter than he, except for one, which he illustrates by showing photographs of three of them. There are even some who speak of a Black who is supposed to have a very large sum in reserve in order "to buy a white husband." She declares that "she would never make any efforts to marry"; she will marry if that is her destiny, and she claims to have received advances from both Blacks and Whites, but to have rejected all of them. "I have no preference as to type; I demand only that he be a cultivated man and one who corresponds to my ideal." And as if she had unconsciously given herself away, she says that during a journey she met a German -- the most characteristic type of fino White for the people of Bahia -- who paid her court and who since then had written her numerous letters. Also very characteristic is what a young mulattress said: "The dark girls prefer lovers lighter than they. Myself, if I sought to marry..." She does not finish her sentence, but after a pause she adds: "It depends, for if I wanted to have a lover I would not consider color." And as if she were voicing a complaint: "The colored boys prefer light women," she says, "even if they are ill-bred; it is enough for them that they are light..."

The resentment that these difficulties cause in girls is generally dissimulated by an apparent detachment with regard to marriage. A woman of liberal profession asserts that she does not want to marry because she is of restless temperament. Moreover, she adds, the colored men want to marry white women and the Blacks that she has been able to associate with are mentally inferior to her, which may be perfectly true. The same frustrations are found among the men who do not happen to have white fiancées. One of them lives with a mulattress, but he says that he knows more than one white woman or morena who would accept him as a husband or even as a lover. Two very black Blacks declare that they do not wish to marry, at any rate they do not find white girls who love them. Another complains that the women do not want /42/ dark men, even well-bred ones, and prefer a White, even a poor devil badly "rigged out"; in the streets they repulse

[SALVADOR]

/42 cont./

*563 557 the advances of dark men, but accept those of Whites, however disrespectful. That is why, he explains, they either become concubines of the latter, or else they do not marry.

*563 829 826 832 The white and blond woman, on the other hand, is represented as being strongly attracted by men with a very pigmented skin. A light mulatto, regarded very highly in his profession, is not attracted by dark women, although he admits that they are striking and pretty; he prefers the "Whites, very white." According to what he said, many men of his kind have this same inclination, quite independently of the idea of "purifying the race." He adds that the *finas* Whites have a real taste for the Blacks, whom they consider particularly virile and strong, and they do not take those who have manners that are too refined. Other informants, on the contrary, speak without enthusiasm of this type of women, whom they consider cold and frail. "Color gives health," says one of them, and he adds that even the Whites think so. "Very light women are repugnant to some men," declares one métis; "I even know a European who has an inclination to vomit when he sees one of them." All these opinions on the very white woman are [191] of the same order as those that in the United States, according to / John Dollard (1), serve as protection against colored men and sometimes even against Whites. The *morena*, moreover, is regarded as the most ardent feminine type and even, sexually speaking, the most accessible. Numerous informants who have a plan to marry Whites explain or imply that they are looking for light, socially white métisses.

[113] 1. "It seems possible that the image of the white woman is in part preserved from sexual thoughts and allusions of the same order, while the black woman tends to bear the entire brunt of uncontrolled sexual desire... If the black women are represented as sexually desirable in the white popular imagination, the black men are represented as particularly virile and experienced in this domain." *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, New York, 1949, p. 1 ff.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 [571] One of the reasons why mixed marriages are desired is, as we have already said, that thanks to them it is possible to "improve one's own race." Marriages of Blacks with Blacks only prolong the situation, thinks a black man of liberal profession who is considered a racist. "The mulatto son is accepted better and does not suffer what his family has suffered." The finer features of children of mixed blood, declares another informant, facilitates their social integration. "To have a white father," he adds, "is in itself an advantage." A mulatto of dark complexion relates that he started to work in very humble and arduous occupations, but his situation began to improve /43/ when a very important politician learned that he was the son of one of his white friends. He then obtained office work, which left him time to study until he passed his university examinations. Another man practicing a liberal profession believes that one of the assets that he had during his childhood was to have a white father, who, although of modest means, was intimately acquainted with the politicians of the small locality in which he lived.

As for the particular cases of our informants who are married to white or at least very light women, it is interesting to note that none of them has invoked one of the reasons set forth above in order to justify this preference. Some say they first had a dark fiancée who died or who broke the engagement; it is because of this that they ended up by marrying a light woman. Others do not seek any justification. One of them said: "There are many Whites whom I do not like to see at my house. Nevertheless I married a White of Portuguese descent." Another reason given by some informants is that dark girls refuse young men of their type even when they are graduates and have good positions. It seems, however, that this information is somewhat exaggerated. In the white families in which many of these girls are servants, our informants add, they continually hear it said that "they must avoid these bold and ignorant Blacks." But this warning refers to Blacks of humble circumstances, not to those of a high social or professional rank. The dark boys, said a Black, begin to recognize this difficulty as soon as they reach the age of 20: "That is why they

[SALVADOR]

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*563 look for light girls." Obviously this question is not one that can
829 be solved with the material of an investigation like ours, but
there seems to be no doubt that we are confronted here with
reasons intended to mask the wish for a union with white women.
This design, moreover, should be interpreted with the help of
psychoanalysis and other techniques for investigating personality
problems.

In Bahia there are some distinguished Blacks, particularly
in the liberal professions, who are married to Whites or to women
much lighter than they are. This fact is mentioned with some
emphasis and with ill-concealed pride by some persons of dark
color, although such cases are also the object of criticism. Very
[565] often the women belong to milieus inferior to those to which
[626] they themselves belong, "for in the higher classes, although
marriages between mulattoes and *morenos* are frequent, the opposition is still strong against marriages between persons who are
very /*44*/ far apart on the color scale" (1).

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1. Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*

*563 The lower the man's status, the less difficult a mixed marriage
565 is for him within his class. That is to say, it is much easier for
554 a Black of intermediate and inferior groups to marry a White of
his social class than for a Black of a higher class to marry a girl
of his own milieu. Moreover, the less great the difference between the man's and the woman's type, the less great will be the
opposition to be overcome in whatever milieu it may be. The
*563 marriage of a light man with a dark woman, especially if she is
[626] much more pigmented than he, encounters very marked opposition
in all milieus, although the opinions about the *morena* with fine
features and the color of *jambo* make this type desirable for
certain Whites, particularly for Portuguese immigrants and somewhat for Germans. A dark woman who marries a White is much
*563 more exposed to the hostility of her husband's family than a dark
59 man who marries a light or white woman. In order to explain
this in part it is necessary not to forget that, the family in Bahia

[SALVADOR]

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being greatly influenced by the family of the bride, the husband is inevitably absorbed by it, so that the children are actually more intimate with their grandparents on the maternal side than with those on the paternal side (2).

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2. In order to verify this hypothesis the author questioned 30 young women of lower and intermediate class, students of a professional school, and was thus able to verify that 63.3 o/o considered themselves more intimate with the family of their mother; 26 o/o did not express any preference; 6.6 o/o inclined to the paternal side, and 3 o/o did not know their ancestors.

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A White who is married to a dark woman thereby "leaves" his category, for, according to an oft-repeated maxim, "when a girl marries, her family gains a son." The man thus passes into the world of colored people from which his wife originated. Likewise, a dark-man "elevates" himself by being integrated into the family of his light or white spouse. That is the opinion of the Bahians, an opinion that the author has been able to perceive and observe by participating in the local life. On the other hand, this is confirmed analogically by what occurs in marriages between persons of different rank and wealth. In Bahia, as throughout Brazil generally, marriages between "cultivated and upright" young men, even if they are poor, and wealthy women of high rank are much more approved than those of wealthy men with "lower class" women. In the case of the "cultivated and upright" young man (these two conditions are required), even if he is poor or colored, the family of the fiancée capitalizes on these virtues as compensation for his fortune or for his whiteness in the bartering that it does; in the opposite situation, the virtues that the poor or dark girl may have do not generally have /45/ the same power of compensation for the family of her spouse.

[SALVADOR]

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The Whites justify their opposition to marriages with Blacks, not only by ideologies concerning the mental and moral inferiority of the Black, but also by an "instinctive" repulsion to certain organic characteristics of Africans and their close descendants. A mulatto, reared among Europeans, expresses this attitude by saying that "it is not so much the color prejudice that is strong in Bahia as the instinctive repulsion of the white race for the taint of the sister race when it is pure or almost pure: bad odor, color, etc., which does not fail to provoke disagreeable comments about the descendants of Ham." It should be noted that, concerning the "bad odor," that of the Blacks is regarded as something inherent in their nature and thus irremediable, the disagreeable odor of the Portuguese and the other immigrants being attributed solely to the lack of body care. This conception puts the Black in a special and inferior psychological category, many Whites not knowing that they themselves emit an odor intolerable to the Asiatics and to the Blacks (1).

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1. It is interesting to note what happens in blood transfusion. When this was done directly from donor to recipient, often the white patient or his family preferred white donors, showing annoyance when the donor was mulatto or black. At present, with the system of preserved blood, almost no one asks what the "quality" of the donor is, except Jews and certain foreigners, especially Europeans who demand blood from members of their family or their "race." In the first instance, what motivated the attitude of the Whites was above all the fact that the donor was lying in a bed parallel to that of the sick person, a situation recalling the intimacy of two persons who sleep side by side.

[SALVADOR]

/46/ Commerce

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The merchants and the fazendeiros enjoy a prestige in Bahia society proportional to the economic importance of their activities, the wealthiest families being made up by them, and their influence being well known in all the social life. It is by means of these two forms of activity that the Bahians acquire a certain social rank and exercise control over other sectors of the social structure (1).

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1. The economic activities that occupy the largest number of persons in the State of Bahia are agriculture and stock raising (67 o/o of individuals of the male sex); there follow in order of importance: small crafts industry and commerce, according to the census of 1940. In the city of Salvador (Bahia) the liberal professions and private instruction, which the statistics record in the aggregate, came in first place, and commerce and the industries are in second place.

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The national and racial groups that make up the population of Bahia participate in different fashion in the commerce and agriculture. While the Whites and the morenos predominate among the most important breeders of livestock, one finds among the owners of cacao plantations a large proportion of colored persons who began as small planters and have progressively enlarged their fazendas as cacoa gained in importance in the international markets. The plantations of cane and the sugar mills that belonged to the families of Portuguese origin, who were very conscious of their social rank during the colonial period, are today almost entirely in the hands of large capitalist enterprises in which Whites and a few métis predominate.

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As for commercial activities, they are not carried on exclusively by nationally and racially determined groups, but these groups portion them out among themselves up to a certain point --

[SALVADOR]

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*563 although these lines of demarcation have a tendency to disap-
441 pear. The Jews, who have immigrated since the first world
[186] war and whom people know under the name of "Russians," are
the principal owners of furniture stores and are beginning to be-
come interested in other kinds of commerce; strictly exclusive
in their firms, they do not seem to have any Brazilian associates,
so that the dark employees that they have among them never
occupy any but subordinate positions and never reach the top
positions that would permit them to take a place in the higher
strata of society.

The characteristic endogamy of the Israelites has also con-
tributed toward restricting the chances of colored people in this
[233] sector. Some Jews of French origin who established themselves
[472] in the city during the second half of the last century and who
turned to commerce and stock raising were entirely assimilated.
Their /47/ families today include some light métis and some
*563 morenos. The Spaniards who dominate the grocery and bakery
472 business are grouped into firms in which only they themselves
256 and their immediate descendants participate. In order to main-
441 tain this commercial structure, the group is constantly renewed
through the immigration of young men of the same nationality,
who start to work in modest positions and end up by forming new
firms or being integrated in the old ones. From the time the
*563 Spanish emigrants came still unmarried or left their families in
472 Spain, they had mulatto children or morenos here by their
441 servants, children who were born illegitimate and who had no
[175] right of inheritance (Brazilian law did not insure it to persons in
[848] their position until some years later). But for about 20 years the
[428] Spaniards have started to send for, or bring with them, their
[671] families, so that they now form a very closed group, not only
from the economic point of view, but especially from the social
and, so to speak, the biological point of view. An informant
[256] points out that in the old days numerous bakeries were the prop-
erty of Blacks; since then the Spaniards have monopolized them
almost completely, that they now control this type of business
entirely. The antagonism of the inhabitants of Bahia against the

[SALVADOR]

The antagonism of the
/47 cont./ inhabitants of Bahia against the
*563 Spanish merchants is expressed, aside from the manifestations
441 pointed out in another chapter, by the belief that they are re-
578 sponsible for the discrimination that is practiced against colored
829 people in certain recreational clubs. In the trade of textiles and
*563 petty retail objects, such as the Syrians, Lebanese, Arabs, and
441 Turks carry on in little shops, there are no longer many openings
464 possible for colored people. The Arab merchants accept colored
employees to work at the counter in their establishments, but,
since these are generally modest family enterprises, their few
light descendants of mixed blood or morenos remain in the lower
or intermediate strata of the population.

*563 In the offices of large export or import firms made up in
441 part of Europeans (Germans, English, Swiss), colored persons are
464 admitted and may obtain positions carrying some responsibility,
472 but they rarely reach the rank of owners. The European merchants,
829 numerous informants say, have the reputation of being liberal
with their employees and other colored persons with whom they do
business or who collaborate in their activities: harbor services,
transport, transit, navigation. A wealthy, dark mulatto merchant
states that his transport enterprise works a great deal for large
/48/ foreign firms: "The English are particularly pleasant in that
they help their colored employees and promote them to the
secretariat of management." They often bring them gifts from
Europe, invite them to their clubs, and are happy when some of
[191] them speak their language. "The German merchants who had very
[186] large firms in Bahia in the old days were very good to their colored
assistants; they were very jealous of their language, however, and
seemed not to like it at all when a Black spoke German. Some
European firms honor their employees, even the Blacks, when
they complete 20 or 30 years of service and give them bonuses on
[555] this occasion. But they do not promote them to important posts,
sometimes because of their incompetence. The same thing does
not happen with Brazilian firms, which are not accessible to
colored people."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 A fact known in Bahia is that during one of the two world
441 wars an important German firm transferred the responsibility for
472 its warehouses to one of its employees, a moreno, who had al-
829 ways been its confidential agent and who proved in this situa-
tion that he was really faithful by subsequently loyally returning
[452] the goods that had been entrusted to him. A mulatto merchant,
owner of a warehouse, recalls that German firms helped small
Brazilian merchants a great deal, no matter what their physical
characteristics were, by granting them credit facilities. "It was
[464] in this way that this firm developed, with the help of Germans," he
says, "at the time when the large Portuguese firms, formerly the
most important, did not offer any facilities to colored people and
did not even allow them to work in their offices." The owner-
[581] ship of firms was almost always transferred by the familial route
by means of marriages between the most capable employees and
the daughters of owners and associates, which explains why the
management of these firms always remained with the Portuguese
and their descendants. One and the same firm could, moreover,
in certain cases give birth to two or three other firms of the same
structure, thanks to the competence of the owners' sons, who,
with the aid of their parents, set themselves up on their own.

*563 A wealthy contractor thinks that it is owing to his black color
441 that he did not progress in the modest employment that he had in
472 an important commercial firm. In order to advance, he says,
871 he was obliged to give up commerce and devote himself to jobs
555 as a contractor. It is evident that the stagnation of some em-
ployees in occupations of little importance arises, in the majority
of cases, from their incompetence, it being a fact that in Bahia,
even today, but especially in the very recent past, the /Figs. 5
and 6 appear here/ /49/ young men who intended to go into com-
merce had not completed secondary studies, or showed themselves
[464] incapable of continuing them. This situation is tending to im-
prove, but the majority of minor employees is still made up of
young colored men coming from poor families and from a very
low level of education. These young people therefore have only
minimal possibilities for elevating themselves in careers where
success depends a great deal either on the importance of capital
invested or on administrative knowledge.

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5. Mixture of races in Bahia.

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6. The Black at work.

[SALVADOR]

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The large stores dealing in textiles, fashions, jewelry, and women's articles prefer, for the sale of the displays, employees who "look well," a euphemism for designating persons who are white or approaching it in appearance. Only a few years ago one of the largest stores in the city put an advertisement in the papers offering positions to saleswomen "of sound health, of white color, and at least 18 years of age." An informant relates that her sister, in spite of *finos* features, was not accepted in a very important store. In vain she made herself up attractively, arranged her hair, which is glossy and beautiful, and dressed with elegance; she was not accepted. The manageress told her that she preferred saleswomen with light hair. "The real reason," our informant explains, "is that the clientele does not like to be waited on by saleswomen of dark complexion. The colored girls, when they read announcements in the newspapers asking for employees of good appearance, do not even try to get the job, for they know very well that Whites are preferred; it is only due to great influence that they may be accepted." Another girl with moderately pigmented skin and slightly curly hair presented herself as a secretary in a large store, but the person in charge of personnel told her (and other candidates of the same type as she) that she was very sorry, but the firm preferred light girls. Someone who was present at the interview declared that it was a Portuguese employee associated with the firm who introduced this "racism" in that establishment. In a very famous firm dealing in women's articles, belonging to foreigners, only *morenas finas* or Whites are accepted. Almost all the employees of both sexes in the stores on the most central and the most important streets are white or *morenos*. Even in the more modest commercial spheres the situation is almost the same. In approximately 150 small or medium-sized stores dealing in textiles, haberdashery, women's articles, clothing and household articles, electrical goods and hardware, footwear, drugs, foodstuffs and baked goods, on a business street frequented by workers and the poorest population, /50/ not one black person or dark mulatto was seen as manageress, cashier, or saleswoman. "In any case," says a female

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*563 informant, "girls of light color are more readily accepted in
444 these occupations, perhaps because they are content with salaries
464 that are not as high as those the young men demand."
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[277] The statistics released by the Bureau of Identification of the police of the State of Bahia confirm these data. The physical
*563 characteristics of 273 persons registered during several months of
44 1950 as merchants or employees of commercial firms were the
464 following:

Position in commerce	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Merchants:						
Men	28	-	12	6	-	46
Women .	1	-	-	-	-	1
Employees in commerce:						
Men	80	10	63	42	13	208
Women. . .	8	-	8	2	-	18
Total . . .	117	10	83	50	13	273

One sees that among the merchants the majority is white; among the employees in commerce the majority is colored. This is explained by the fact that the profession of merchant is one in which the Whites predominate (1)

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1. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 243.

in part because social ascent in this sector depends on financial possibilities. The informants in general could with difficulty mention the name of more than three or four colored persons having a notable position in commerce. Nevertheless, the names of some dark merchants who have occupied important offices in the Trade Association and in other important social institutions are mentioned.

[SALVADOR]

*563 /50 cont./

453 "In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers,"
464 say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares,in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

641 /52/ Politics

*563 Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be regis-
[884] tered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

162 The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in
641 the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored
*563 people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access
000 to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

[SALVADOR]

From this point of
/52 cont./ view politics is in the process
178 of becoming one of the most powerful means of social transformation.
*563 The politicians take the greatest care to promote the registration
565 on the lists of the largest possible number of persons of the
666 lower classes, among whom there is a majority of Blacks and
métis, people more dependent and less educated and for that reason also more amenable to propaganda and demagoguery. In the months that precede the general elections held simultaneously every four years throughout the country, the candidates for political offices spend considerable sums and multiply their efforts, directly or through the instrumentality of their canvassers, to persuade the people to have themselves registered as voters. The services that they render these voters are one of the means they count on to obtain their votes. As a result, the most popular politicians are those who, not having or pretending not to have class or color prejudice, approach the most humble voters, shake hands and embrace them when they meet them, pay them visits or receive them at their homes or in their offices, and who, after having been elected, continue to lavish on them the same demonstrations, in public or in the government palaces or chambers. A number of politicians, because of this, are assisted by black and mulatto canvassers, who thus, in our day, maintain the loyalty and the devotion that their ancestors showed the families in which they were slaves.

178 In former times, an informant tells us, a man of dark color
*563 could not enter political life; he could be a canvasser, but he was
666 rarely a candidate or a member of a party. In spite of this, in the
[665] municipal council of Bahia there was /53/ always one or two
Blacks of humble occupation, elected thanks to the influence of political-party chiefs, and some morenos or mulattoes of more or less high rank were elected as representatives in the legislative
[646] assembly of the State of Bahia. With the political revolution of
[467] 1930, representation by class in the chamber of the State and
in the federal chamber was created; in that way numerous manual laborers, black or mulatto, were elected as representatives of
[665] their unions. When union representation was suppressed in 1937,
[467] colored men continued to try to obtain improvement of their social
situation by taking part in the life of the parties.

[SALVADOR]

/53 cont./
000 situation by taking part in the life of the parties. This phenomenon
175 is not entirely new, except in that it affects men of dark color and
178 modest circumstances, for since the monarchical epoch numerous
*563 métis bearers of nobiliary titles granted by the emperor had rep-
645 resented Bahia in the imperial parliament and occupied posts in the
646 national ministries. At least three ministers of foreign affairs,
chosen among the statesmen of Bahia during the Empire and the
Republic, were métis of great talent and of great social and political prestige. One of the most brilliant federal deputies of the
republican regime established in 1889 was a dark mulatto, a
health-service engineer, a historian and linguist of renown.
Alluding to this intellectual, someone once said to a dark young
man: "You will never be president of the Republic, but you can
hope to acquire the fame of a Teodoro Sampaio." If one is to be-
[173] lieve oral tradition, a member of the highest tribunal of justice
[829] of Bahia, a métis of very high social and intellectual rank, as-
serted in a speech that Bahia has always had the lead in this tradition "of liberty and equality among men who do not belong to
the same race or at times to the same religion."

*563 During the last election campaigns, the attitude of certain
666 candidates toward colored persons was exploited in favor of some and to the detriment of others. Thus, rumors were circulated in 1945, according to which a candidate for the presidency of the Republic was supposed to harbor color prejudices and not allow the admission of Blacks and dark mulattoes into the military aviation services, which he then directed. It is maintained that these accusations contributed to reducing the number of votes in favor of this candidate in Bahia, in spite of the efforts that his party made to lessen the bad impression that this revelation had produced, even among the Whites. On the occasion of the 1950 campaign, the followers of one of the candidates for the office of governor of the State distributed a tract in which a newspaper favorable to another candidate was accused of having published an article whose author maintained that Negresses made themselves /54/ ridiculous by aping white women. In both cases it was an attempt to cause difficulties between candidates and voters. Moreover, a national association of colored men recommended to

[SALVADOR]

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*563 666 the voters of Bahia, by means of printed proclamations, a White candidate for the federal deputation because he had been "a champion of racial democracy and of the valorization of the colored masses of the Brazilian people." A recommendation of this kind, however, or the fact that a candidate is colored cannot have a determining influence on his election, as the results of the last plebiscite prove. A young lawyer, a dark mulatto, very attractive in manner, was twice a candidate for a municipal office; his friends told him that as a colored man he would certainly have a chance of being elected. Nevertheless he was not elected either time, and it is precisely in the district of the city where the largest part of the colored proletariate is found that he had the least votes.

*563 666 829 Although some dark leaders think that their group ought to have its own representation in the government (1),

> 1. A pardo writer asserted that "the Negroes who form our economy ... already definitely assimilated and developed, at present claim, by way of the new generations, a better and more dignified position and even more direct participation in the responsibilities and in the destinies of the State"; cf. W. Morais, in A Tarde, Bahia, 21 October 1950.

the voters do not seem to decide in favor of such a solution. Sometimes, however, the color of the candidate is regarded as the symbol of his rank and of his ties to the lower strata of the population. One of the most popular politicians of the city, elected many times to the municipal chamber as "a true representative of the people," is a non-graduate lawyer, a mulatto.

*563 665 It is possible to come across colored persons in the leadership of certain local parties, but the "peoples" and "workers" parties always group together more Blacks and mulattoes than the center and the right. A dark Black participated in the leadership of one of these parties, along with Whites and morenos, some of whom

[SALVADOR]

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*563 665 perform very important duties in the government of the State. A merchant of mixed blood, wealthy and refined, and moreover one of the directors of a strong centrist party, was elected federal deputy in the last elections. These two men exert great influence on their respective parties; this influence is also due to the financial support and to the devotion that they do not cease to
[204] lavish on them. The Communist Party does not have a legal existence, but, according to some informants, it exploits the difficulties of the poor and stimulates racial antagonism; the newspaper that it publishes in Bahia and the candidates that it presents under the cover of other parties receive some support from poor colored people; one of /55/ the most important of its leaders is a mulatto of liberal profession.

*563 666 646 [162] At the last elections numerous persons of dark color were candidates for political offices, but the registers of the electoral tribunal bear no indication of the candidates' type. It is known, however, that among the 103 present representatives of the people of Bahia in the federal, municipal, and State legislative assemblies there are approximately 30 o/o morenos and pardos, some of whom are quite dark. Several of them enjoy great prestige, and it should be noted that in the assemblies they are by no means grouped according to their type or their racial origin. The politicians of
[665] one and the same party conduct their tours and their election campaigns together, and their prestige by no means depends on their color, but on their personality and the parties or political leaders with whom they are affiliated. One can currently read in the newspapers appeals signed by persons of different "quality" with a view to paying tribute to politicians likewise of different "quality." A deputy from Bahia is regarded as the one member of the national parliament who shows the most Negroid features, but this does not create any difficulty for him in his political work. It is said that a white deputy speaking from the rostrum of parliament has presented himself more than once as a "mulatto from Bahia" in order to become better identified with the representatives from the State of Bahia.

[SALVADOR]

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178 *563 666 Thirty or forty years ago, among the insults hurled at political adversaries in the newspapers and even in the speeches of the legislative assemblies, the epithet "mulatto" or "Negro" was frequent. Today this takes place less often, because the style of political contests has lost much of its character of personal reprisals. Nevertheless one of the last governors of the State of Bahia, a statesman of national fame and once even a deputy minister to one of the presidents of the Republic, was a moreno of great moral and intellectual prestige. While he was in power, none of his political adversaries publicly alluded to his "caste." But, after he had left his office, a newspaper of another city, criticizing his activity, published a comment entitled "Administrative profile of a pardavasco" (1),

[192] 1. Pardavasco = diminutive sometimes used as a synonym of pardo.

an article in which the qualification mulato pachola was repeated in a contemptuous sense; another politician, in turn condemning his work in the government, delivered a speech against what he called "the creole democracy of the creole M.," the expression "creole" being used here in the sense of a Black or the descendant of a Black born in Brazil. Recently in the national parliament a politician from another State, feeling offended /56/ by the newspaper of an industrialist of Bahia, a whitened mulatto, gave a violent speech in which he called the latter "métis of low extraction." Attacks of this kind, however, do not always come from finos Whites; more than once they are the doing of "Whites in color."

*563 555 In short, although it is rare that a Black or a dark mulatto reaches a high political position, it is nonetheless true that for many colored people politics is a means of elevating oneself in the social hierarchy. Attacks of the kind that we have alluded to show a certain antagonism toward the colored men who elevate themselves thanks to politics. [646] At the present time the leader of the governmental party in the legislative assembly of the State of Bahia is the red curiboca (métis of Indian and White blood) of whom we have already had occasion to speak. It is for this reason

[SALVADOR]

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that one may say that for more than 100 years Bahia has been governed "by Whites and by those who regard themselves as such" (1).

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1. Von Spix and von Martius, Através a Bahia, /Across Bahia/, 2nd edition, Bahia, p. 75.

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The Bureaucracy

In all the public administrations of Bahia one finds colored officials (especially in the modest posts). In the past, and even sometimes in our day, the officials were admitted through the influence of politicians or influential members of the administration itself. This is the way numerous dark officials were introduced in all the categories of the administration, without encountering any barrier or opposition. But well in advance of the governments of the States or the municipal services, the federal administration established a regime of competitive examinations in order to make up its ranks, even affecting purely bureaucratic positions. According to a métis who came into the bureaucracy in 1929, "in the federal civil service, there is no favoritism for the Whites, because the offices there are filled by competitive examinations, and there is no opposition to the registration of colored candidates. A well-bred, pleasant, competent Black or mulatto is accepted as associate or chief without opposition on the part of the Whites. Except when they are rude and when they take advantage of their position as departmental heads to make excessive unreasonable demands on Whites or Blacks, no one cares about their color."

With the perfecting of the system of competitive examinations, carried out by means of examinations in which the names of the candidates are not known by the members of the jury, an increasing number of persons of dark color are entering public service throughout Brazil, and cases of candidates who consider themselves victims of racial discrimination are rare. This system

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*563 647 was introduced in the States and in the municipal services in such a way that possibilities are increasing for colored persons entitled to occupy these posts. Given the fact that in spite of this the support that a candidate may receive from a politician or a friend of an official is always very important, it is obvious that persons of more modest circumstances have more difficulty being appointed after having been admitted for the examinations; they are supposed to have even more difficulties obtaining offices that are advantageous or lead to first-rate positions. [175] [668] During the colonial period some of the participants in a popular revolution that broke out in Bahia, complaining that because they were pardos all promotion was denied them, tried to establish a regime of equality in which Whites, pardos, and Blacks, without distinction as to color, would be judged solely according to their abilities (1).

[113] 1. Alfonso Ruy, A primeira revoluçao social brasileira -- 1798 /The First Brazilian Social Revolution -- 1798/, 2nd edition, Bahia, 1951, p. 77.

[178] "In olden times," says one Black, "one never saw a moreno /58/ occupying a first-rate post," which is not altogether accurate, for the métis always had important positions in the administration of Brazil since the colonial period. [557] [555] [178] Today, says another informant, "the incompetent ones advance through influence; as for the others, they advance by their own merit, regardless of their color." He himself, in spite of his very dark color, manages sections in which Whites and Blacks work, and he knows that he is highly esteemed by his colleagues. Others think that the Blacks, although admitted without great difficulties, do not have access, save exceptionally, to positions of management which are temporarily occupied in commission through the individual choice of governors and higher officials. [665] Two of our informants illustrate their assertion by citing the case of a Black "who worked a great deal during an election campaign in favor of a party and who, in spite of

[SALVADOR]

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*563 this, when the aforesaid party was in power, was not offered any
647 of the important positions that he had a right to hope for by reason
[665] of his personality, whereas Whites were appointed without having
his capabilities." Facts of this order can certainly not be attributed solely to color prejudice. As for the métis, things are different. They have possibilities and, if they are capable, are named to positions of responsibility, although the Whites predominate in
*563 public service. The colored women, as their level of education
562 rises, enter into the administration in open competition with the
647 Whites. In one of the most important sections of Bahia, the controller's office responsible for the huge budgets that this section prepares each year is almost entirely in the hands of a dark mulattress who frequently confers with the secretary of State responsible, under the direct orders of the governor, for this sector of the administration of the State. There are, besides, numerous girls of varied crossbreeding in public positions of different categories.

/59/ The Army

*563
70 Bahia is not an important military center. There are small units of the land, air, and naval forces in the city, and men of any type whatsoever are accepted there as simple soldiers. In their battalions there is no separation between Whites and "men of color," as was the case in the colonial period and in part even while slavery lasted. Certain informants state that it is not easy for a Black to go into aviation, even as a soldier, but others affirm the contrary, and one of them cites the case of a young man who did not go into aviation, but who, having been given certain tests, received as recompense a journey to another State. It is true that this branch, some years ago at any rate, preferred white personnel, but
*563 today its troops are mixed. The navy had in the city, in addition
706 to a reduced contingent in which finos Whites and retintos Blacks
874 are mixed, a seamen's preparatory school where any student is
accepted. But from time to time a commandant who was accused

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*563 706 874 [204] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

[641]

> 1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

*563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. *563 70 [565] At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

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*563 70 parade, one was recently able to identify three morenos, but it should be added that, the land army, aviation, or the navy being national bodies, the officers detached to serve in the different States include only a small number of local elements.

[873] The Brazilian university students do military service by attending, for two years, courses for the preparation of reserve officers for the army. Colored students are admitted there like all the others, and, as certain of them have assured us, they are not subject to any discriminatory measures. But as few young men of Bahia intend to have a military career, the difficulties that persons of dark color may encounter in this sector are not very important. According to numerous informants, however, only the nearly white métis obtain officers' posts in the combat forces; it is easier for them to obtain posts as doctors, pharmacists, intendants, and procurator of military justice. A mulatto student relates that he aspired to enter military aviation, but that, fearing that he would not be admitted, he decided on another career. The officers' schools do not refuse the registration of dark-colored candidates, but the latter, our informants say, rarely satisfy the physical and intellectual demands required by the respective regulations, which provoked lively debates a few years ago in the national parliament.

*563 708 701 The military police of the State of Bahia is a traditionally popular organization, in the ranks of which no racial distinction is made; its troops have been made up of a majority of colored men. Within its primitive system of promotions a large number of mulatto and black soldiers have advanced to the ranks of officers and have succeeded in performing, under the general command of the State, duties of major importance during periods of political agitation, during periods when the government of the State had to be able to count on the loyalty of its troops. The political intrusions in the granting of these posts have greatly decreased with the changes that have been brought about in the Brazilian democratic system, but they continue nevertheless to play a certain role. From the officers' ranks of this militia have come numerous Blacks who have occupied important posts in the

/60 cont./
*563 police force and in politics. A school for the training of officers
708 destined for this corps was recently created, in order to improve
701 its capacity as a reserve for the army. Among the present students
[874] there are a few with dark skin. One may find two explanations
for this: either a preliminary selection at the time of the examinations for admission, when it may happen that the young candidates with /61/ dark skin do not, for various reasons, satisfy the required conditions, or because the career of officer now has more
[555] prestige and consequently attracts a larger number of Whites. Up
to the present time the career of military-police officer represented one of the ways of social ascent for young colored men. Recently, under indictments of various kinds, a heavily pigmented Black who had reached the rank of captain was expelled from the corps. Not long ago, in a group of 27 young officers whose photographs were displayed in a commercial establishment, eight morenos and light mulattoes and one dark mulatto could be seen. But it is also certain that the officers corps at present, though mixed, is composed of Whites in the majority. Moreover, in the course of recent years the officers chosen by the general command to be integrated in the military department of the government of the State have almost without exception been Whites or "whitened": an aide-de-camp of this high authority must be a representative person, in order to make a "good impression" on individuals who come to the government Palace or on those who are passing through Bahia and on whom this officer must pay courtesy visits. A justification that everyone concedes.

*563 Among the officers of two local corps of civil character, but
701 having a military organization and insignia, the civil guard and
368 corps of firemen, the majority is dark. The Whites or "whitened"
are in the minority in the second of these groups. This proportion corresponds to the lesser prestige that these two organizations enjoy, both, however, greatly appreciated for the services that they render to the community.

[SALVADOR]

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The Arts

*563 53 In Bahia the populace has its own art and its artists who interpret it according to their personal conception. And one may say that from this point of view there exists a form of art that is peculiar to poor and colored persons, especially in the [565] realm of music and dance. But in the artistic activities of the higher stratum of the population, the participation of colored *563 533 [555] people is not important, except for music. Perhaps because of the belief that attributes to mulattoes a particular inclination for music, colored musicians are relatively numerous, and some of them enjoy a great deal of prestige and are admitted into the social scheme. In all the bands and in all the orchestras there is a large proportion of Blacks and mulattoes, sometimes even as [875] [555] soloists. Some of them engage in teaching and in this way reach a higher social rank when, thanks to their competence, they succeed in having pupils who belong to the wealthiest families and when they become part of the teaching corps of the most important schools of music.

*563 875 533 Of three musicians, professors of piano and composition of Bahia, of great renown in the course of these last years, two are mulattoes. The most celebrated among them, after having very brilliantly concluded a course in Germany, taught for many years in Bahia; he then moved to another State; every time that he returns to his country he is the object of demonstrations of fellow-feeling; on these occasions numerous students or instrumentalists seek him out for short refresher courses. All Bahia is proud of the talents of this artist. Another mulatto, with the help of influential persons, organized a school of music which rapidly became very famous for the quality of its teaching and for the frequent concerts that it organized. After his death, the management of the school [462] passed to his moreno son. The teaching of violin, which is at present done almost exclusively by men, includes numerous black or dark mulatto professionals; in the teaching of piano, an activity to a large extent engaged in by women, one finds morenas and *563 545 533 "whitened" of great fame. A very popular singer of mixed blood is both founder and directress of an organization which, with the contribution of some thousands of adherents of the highest classes of

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*563 society, has brought to Bahia the most famous musicians of our
545 time. The newspapers and journals report the concerts that the
533 white and colored artists give in the theaters and halls of the
[204] most important organizations of the city, and publish their /63/
pictures as well as the comments that the art critics make on the
subject.

*563 In the plastic arts, colored persons have not played an im-
814 portant role, although in the past they have produced some painters
538 and sculptors of some renown whose works can be viewed in the
[532 most beautiful baroque churches of the city. These works are
346] mentioned in the books on the art of Bahia, especially in those
of a black or dark mulatto writer, Manoel Querino, son of slaves, whose studies on art, folklore, and Afro-Brazilian ethnography have made him famous. The first centenary of the birth of this intellectual, who in his biographies of numerous artists of Bahia only very rarely indicated their type, was solemnly commemorated in Bahia, as well as in Rio de Janeiro, at the same time that two other folklorists, who were white, one of whom was from Bahia, were honored.

*563 In the school of fine arts of the local university, students of
873 all types have acquired university degrees in architecture, paint-
[875] ing, drawing, and sculpture; its teaching staff at present includes
at least three mulattoes, two of whom are quite dark. Some informants say, however, that one painter, because of his color, was not counted for a prize offered by the school, consisting of a journey outside the State. This incident, which happened some tens of years ago, is interpreted in different ways by our informants.

*563 In the theater, colored persons (at least those who are very
545 dark) do not have great possibilities, and one often hears this
complaint expressed. The Blacks, says one young informant, never get beyond the stage of laborer or carpenter in our theaters; even for the roles of Blacks, disguised Whites are preferred. On the other hand, a morena amateur actress states that white women refuse to play the parts of Bahians and that they entrust these parts
[873] to colored girls. It is also somewhat difficult to present white and
colored actors together on the same stage, even in the theatrical

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 presentations of the secondary schools and universities, where
545 color prejudice is undeniably greatly reduced. This is con-
[873] firmed above all with regard to actors with pronounced Negroid features. A mulatto student relates that he often played roles (especially because of his voice) in the theater of the public secondary school where he studied; he almost always performed vocal solos, but he also often played the roles of a charlatan, a fisherman, or others of the same type. He was once designated to play, with a white companion, a love scene in which the two were to appear hand in hand. After numerous rehearsals, he was replaced by a White on the evening of the performance, on the pretext that he appeared /64/ earlier in numerous other scenes and it was necessary to give other students a chance to appear. Our informant assumes, as indeed the theatrical director admitted, that other persons considered it unsuitable for the girl to play a love scene with a mulatto.

The little theater organized and directed by a well-known intellectual of mixed blood has had great success; it is praised by the art critics and greatly admired by the population, which flocks in large numbers to attend its performances. But an incident with the judge for minors gave rise to interpretations that have been linked to color prejudice. Some time ago the theater
[671] gave presentations that were prolonged into the night; the judge
[692] for minors, basing himself on the law that forbids the labor of children and their presence in cinemas, circuses, theaters, and other places of nocturnal entertainment, decided to suspend the performances and instituted legal action against the director, who also directed a State department for cultural and artistic broadcasting /Fr. diffusion, diffusion, propagation, broadcasting/; the children who belong to this theater as amateur actors are recruited among families of the local intermediate classes. According to certain colored informants, these measures were due to resentment over the success gained by the initiative of a métis; and one informant heard it said in an omnibus that "the mistake of the promoter of the theater was to mix colored children and white children on the stage." These two versions are rejected by many Whites and métis who discussed this incident passionately, but it is undeniable that they have significance for the sociologist and the social psychologist.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 For about ten years people have been trying to organize a
545 "Negro theater" in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. In spite of
[171] the assistance of white intellectuals of great influence and endowed
with the spirit of initiative, the two or three groups that
have been founded have had only relative success, in spite of
the indisputable artistic and intellectual merit of the Blacks and
mulattoes who were at their head. About two years ago, when
[658] one of these groups asked for government assistance in order to
give a series of performances in Bahia, the presentation of a "Negro
theater" in a city such as ours, where there is no separation of
races, was considered inopportune. At least this is how some
people justified the refusal against it. Two small theater groups
were nevertheless founded in Bahia, "to give colored persons the
possibility of becoming known," as was announced in a newspaper,
but neither of these groups was able to succeed in staging
a play. This lack of success may be explained in different ways.
One explanation might be that amateur theater enterprises, even
those directed by Whites of some prestige and aided by recreational
associations able to spend /Figs. 7 and 8 appear here/ /65/ quite
large sums on efforts of this kind, have been intermittent in Bahia
and generally require an extreme effort by amateurs of the theatrical
art; another is that the persons responsible for the two undertakings
were young people of mixed blood, without experience
and without credit. It should be noted, besides, that, according
to one of these, the idea was not popular, even among colored
persons. "Everybody doubts that this venture can be successful,"
he said. Some have even thought that this is "a separatist idea."
It is possible that other factors come into play in this tendency to
discourage similar endeavors. The theater being a means of
[154] emotional expression, serving as a substitute for other ways of
[796] liberating emotions, one may agree with the hypothesis of Roger
Bastide, according to which the colored people of Bahia satisfy
themselves by means of the exciting rites of the candomblé and
the external Catholic worship with its brilliant liturgical ceremonies,
its frequent and large processions, and the solemn saints'
days around the most popular churches (1).

[113] 1. "Teatro de 30 dias /Theater of 30 days/," Anhembi, No. 10, Vol. IV, São Paulo, Sept. 1951.

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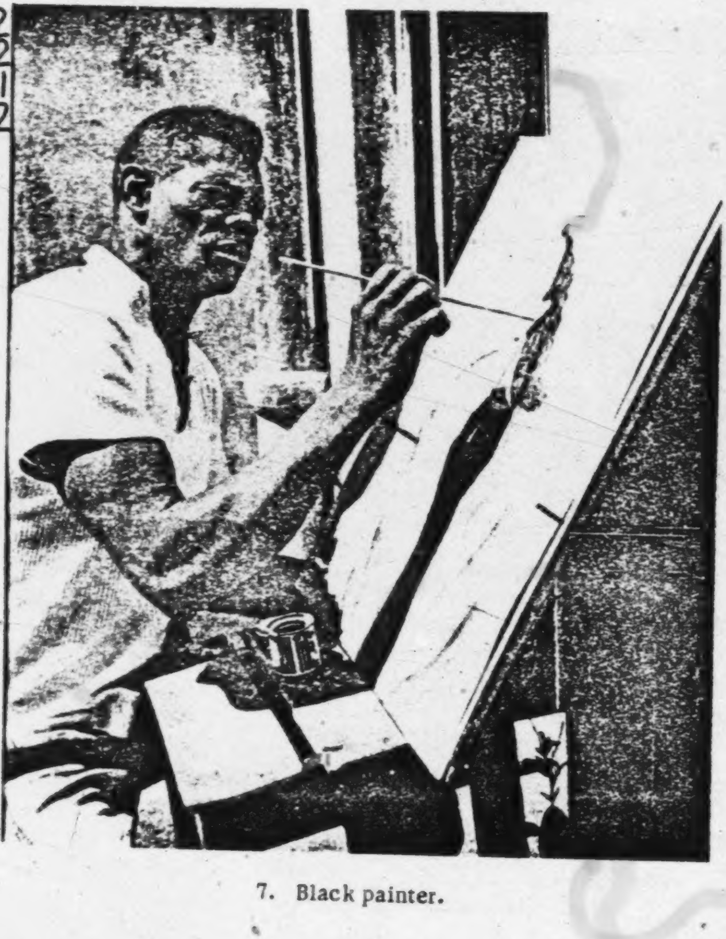

7. Black painter.

5: Azevedo--85 D. Z-5 (1951)1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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8. Composers of music.

[SALVADOR]

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545 In any case it is certain that in the realm of the theater the possibilities of social ascent for persons of dark color are extremely limited, as, moreover, for the people of Bahia in general, because the professions of actor and especially of actress are held in very poor esteem. The city never having had a resident theater company, its theatrical life depends not only on the passing-through of companies from other States, but even, owing to the pejorative opinion concerning the theatrical profession, one can say that at present there are no Bahian actors. The small number of those who do succeed work in other Brazilian cities and rarely perform in Bahia.
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Education

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For numerous inhabitants of Bahia, "color prejudice is a problem of education." This opinion is formulated in different ways, but it always expresses the conviction that it is the difference of education, that is to say, of manners and of schooling, that is the greatest obstacle in the acceptance of the Black and of colored persons in the white milieus. It is not rare to hear it said among dark persons that "the evil comes from the fact that many Blacks do not have the necessary education." A Black said that his companions, members of the same association as he, maintain that the Blacks can very well occupy high positions, but he proves to them that they are not on a level that permits them to claim such positions: they lack the teaching and education. "It is not sufficient to appear spick and span, as many believe!" And the same Black adds that a "well-bred and educated Black is able to enter anywhere." And the lighter an individual is, the more easily he advances if he satisfies these requirements. A parda girl relates that the members of a professional circle where she works as a secretary treat her with more courtesy and "less distance" when they learn that she is not a mere employee, but a graduate teacher, "an educated person."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 Knowing to what extent schooling is useful to them to reduce
555 the social distance that separates them from the ruling classes,
871 colored persons, even the humblest and the darkest, make great
efforts to send their children to primary school; they go so far as
to make the sacrifice to send them to secondary courses when they
could already be helping them in their work. A mulatto who
[171] lives in the northern part of the country states that in this the
Blacks of Bahia differ from those of the other States: "Here the
humblest women -- washerwomen, cooks, domestics -- send their
children to school and are very anxious about what they are taught.
In the other States this does not interest them (1)."

[162] [872] [463] 1. Among the 92 students of both sexes in a public elementary school chosen at random, 23 were white, 42 pardos, and 27 black. Those responsible for the colored children (mothers, fathers, uncles, or godmothers) were domestics, seamstresses, cabinetmakers, carpenters, masons, petty officials, chauffeurs, commercial employees, cooks, washerwomen, etc.

*563 "The Blacks of another large Brazilian city," notes a black uni-
871 versity student, "are very well dressed and shod, but they speak
171 badly, use slang expressions, and are incapable of carrying on a
conversation of a certain level. One might say that they are not
at all anxious to learn."

*563 There is a very widespread conviction that, in order to excel
555 in life and elevate oneself socially, a colored person must be better
829 /67/ prepared and more capable than the Whites. "A young colored
man must have great personal merit to be able to assert himself,"
says the student mentioned above. A mulatto physician who had
an exceptional career and who has become one of the greatest
names in Brazilian science told one of our informants that a colored
man, in order to succeed, must have twice the merit as his white
competitor, for exactly the same thing happens with a Black as
with two balls of the same weight and the same size, one of metal
and the other of wood; when one takes them in one's hand it al-
ways seems as though the metal one were heavier. Thus a colored
man always gives the impression of having less merit than a White.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 871 In principle the school in Brazil offers the same advantages to Whites and to Blacks, no law preventing or hampering enrollment for ethnic reasons. Nevertheless, inasmuch as the public school is of popular character, free, and the private school is an institution of the higher classes, there is a noticeable difference between the two categories with regard to the number of students of the one type and of the other. But both accept Whites and Blacks. [162] Just as the Whites are in the minority in the total population, the students of this type represent only 35 o/o in the public elementary schools, the Blacks represent about 20 o/o; the rest are pardo. In the private schools of the same level the Whites are as much more numerous as the establishment is more "choice"; one may find up to 90 or 93 o/o Whites there; in those attended by students of the intermediate social group one finds 15 to 25 o/o colored students, very light as a whole (1).

[127] [114] 1. These data have been drawn from the reports of the secretariat of education of the State of Bahia and from the publications of the author on the anthropometric studies made in 1944 and 1947. For this work the author has proceeded with verifications in several public and private schools.

*563 873 In the public and private secondary schools the number of colored students, especially very dark ones, is smaller because they are attended in large part by young people planning liberal careers, which are, in a way, the lot of the Whites, although they are also accessible to colored persons. Among the young people [162] of both sexes enrolled as students during the first three months of 1950 at the Bureau of Identification of the civil police of the State, the following types were noted:

	Whites	Blacks	"Morenos"	"Pardos"	Métis	Total
Male sex . .	349	15	168	83	26	641
Female sex .	300	31	245	95	34	705
Total . .	649	46	413	178	60	1,346

[SALVADOR]

/68/

*563 The Whites make up scarcely half of the total, and it should be
162 noted that the female group includes a higher proportion of
873 colored girls. It is necessary to emphasize the fact that the public
secondary schools recently established always include a larger
number of students of dark color; 30 or 40 years ago it was extremely
*563 rare to see a Black in one of these establishments. Around
1915 one of these schools refused to admit a very dark student,
873 which gave rise to a vehement protest by a black lawyer; wishing
178 to explain the incident, the head of the establishment claimed to
have acted in accordance with the standards in force, that is to
say, under the tacit pressure of upper-class families. This opposition
has considerably decreased as the social ascent of colored
families, confined until then to the lower strata of society, developed.
Nevertheless women's schools directed by the religious
of foreign origin progressed more slowly in this respect, though already
admitting very dark students. Numerous informants have
attended the courses of private secondary schools, but most of them,
from poor families, have studied in public schools.

*563 In the primary and secondary professorship there are also many
875 colored persons, including Blacks and very Negroid métis... Even in the private schools there are colored professors. Some of the most famous professors of the Portuguese language, Latin, and mathematics with whom the young people of the most important families studied were, half a century ago, schoolmasters, priests, and very dark lawyers, of whom numerous intellectuals of Bahia still speak with admiration and respect today. In our times the number of primary professors of the male sex is much smaller, but the female teaching corps includes a large number of dark persons. A normal school maintained by the government of the State is attended by numerous dark girls of the lower and middle classes of the population. Among the teachers of primary instruction, says one of our informants, there is no racial distinction: numerous professors, although very dark, occupy the positions of director and school inspector, and in the schools themselves there is no racial separation between students and professors. The posts of secretary and director of the normal school of the State, as well as those of the college-preparatory secondary schools and public colleges, have many a time been occupied by very dark persons.

[SALVADOR]

/68 cont./

*563 In the public elementary schools the students, in general
872 little conscious of their rank, have a tendency to mix indiscrimi-
572 nately. The informants in general do not recall discriminatory
565 attitudes on the part of their white fellow-students and state /69/
that from these contacts result -- it is not uncommon to ascertain this -- close and lasting friendships. A woman of liberal profession established good relations with white colleagues of the upper classes during her school years, amicable relations that have lasted to this day. In working in the public schools of Bahia, a psychologist confirmed, however, that the children group themselves according to their physical type, but that they have a tendency to seek out in class children lighter than they as seatmates. It is understandable that in this phase of development and socialization of the child the latter has greater facility in identifying those of his group according to physical appearance, especially if he finds himself away from his family and is not influenced by the criteria of social classification current there. Even in the secondary schools, numerous informants say, the students group themselves according to their physical type, but especially in terms of social and economic rank; friendships between young people belonging to two extremes of the color scale are confirmed on each level; more rarely between different social strata. "The daughters of doctors, even if they are dark," a woman informant declared, "are treated with more attention by the professors and their companions than the Whites and the colored children who are poor." The relations between colored students and their Jewish comrades seem to be good, if one is to believe certain information.

*563 In the libraries one can see students of very different types
[217] gathered around the same tables and working together. The
colored students not only take part in groups on excursions, but sometimes are at the head of them; they happen to command their comrades of all types in the civic parades. A literary associa-
[814] tion founded by a black professor in a college-preparatory secondary
[873] school has white and colored members.

[SALVADOR]

/69 cont./

*563 575 873 A very dark color may, however, create difficulties in some circumstances. One of the founders of the important association of students of secondary education was a dark mulatto, highly esteemed among his colleagues; it was, however, not possible for him to be elected president of the association because, as he was able to confirm, a white Communist colleague insinuated that so dark a young man would not have enough prestige before the educational authorities and the public. Elected vice-president he assumed the office of president only when the latter retired; he was then able to perform many accomplishments without encountering the obstacles that might have been connected with his "quality." When an excursion to another city was organized, a mulatto student felt that some of his /70/ comrades hesitated to include him in their group (1).

[564] [565] [113] 1. "In Brazil there is no caste line. As a colored man assimilates the standards of culture of the dominant class, he is treated as an equal, although one notes a strong tendency among the Whites to avoid relations with colored men in situations requiring a certain setting (diplomacy, elegant salons, military schools, etc.)," Guerreiro Ramos, "Contactos racials no Brasil," Quilombo, 1st year, No. 1, Rio de Janeiro, 1948.

Taking account of this, he decided to withdraw discreetly and was congratulated by a white comrade for his "elegant gesture." [178] These two episodes occurred about ten years ago, and the informants say that they would hardly occur today, tolerance having become much greater.

*563 873 Relations between students and professors of different "quality" present nothing unusual in our day; they depend, as a general rule, on the psychological characteristics of both, rather than on their *563 872 physical appearance. But there are white schoolmistresses in the public elementary schools who appear more severe and sometimes

/70 cont./

*563 872 intolerant toward very black little girls, pardoning their mistakes only with difficulty and punishing them more severely than the Whites. An informant relates that in his school he heard the schoolmistress say: "This moleque (2) has no sensibility. Not only is he black, but he is not studious."

*563 873 The students of the secondary schools often admire their colored professors and treat them with the same respect as the white professors; their attitude may vary, however, according to the social rank of the schoolmasters of dark color. Some of them are particularly esteemed for their competence and for the gentleness of their manners. Others are accused of treating their students differently by appearing more exacting and sometimes harsh with the Whites; in such cases the students complain among themselves about the rudeness "of this Negro" and secretly circulate names and epigrams that allude to his Negroid features. There are, on the other hand, dark professors who have the reputation of mistreating the students of their own type, information that is challenged by some people; if this happens, says an informant, it is not because of hostility, but because of the desire to urge these students to work more and thus to distinguish themselves from the others. In the past, however, there have been white professors who openly humiliated the black students and treated them with hostility, which sometimes gave rise to violently aggressive reactions on the part of the latter. Some of these professors were still teaching 20 or 25 years ago. *563 873 178 All this could scarcely happen today, and if anything might cause an attitude of /71/ this kind to be suspected, the milieu reacts sharply in disapproving the "racist" behavior. That is what happened this year when in one public school a professor used words that were interpreted as a contemptuous allusion to

[192] [567] 2. Moleque = term by which one designates the little children of black slaves; it also means an ill-bred, undisciplined young man; may be heard as a synonym for young colored man.

[SALVADOR]

/71 cont./

*563 873 178 the black color of a female student. The complaint that the father of the latter made in a newspaper was immediately published with a very vehement comment that obliged the accused to defend himself. "In olden times," says a mulatto intellectual, "colored students suffered a great deal. Today, it is enough that they are honest and have real worth for their merit to be recognized." And he adds that in the establishment where he teaches and which he has directed, he has seen white students speak out in positive fashion against all racial discrimination with regard to their colored fellow-students.

*563 873 Among the professors whom the students of a private secondary establishment honored at the end of the courses in 1950, there were two morenos, two mulattoes, and one Black; ten out of 39 students were métis. Out of the 137 persons graduated by the philosophy faculty of the University of Bahia between 1945 and 1950, among whom a large number intended to take up secondary teaching, 2.9 o/o were black, 33 o/o were pardos and 63 o/o were white.

[555] Education, as one sees, is a very important factor in our city for the social ascent of colored people.

/72/

Religion

*563 794 The religious institutions of Bahia reflect the structure of the classes and the local social organization. The devout Catholics attend the same churches, mingle in the choir and at the communion table, independently of their "quality." [796] In the solemn festivals organized by the brotherhoods and the associations or carried out by the parishes in honor of their patron saints, one can see Whites, mulattoes, and Blacks gathered together in the places reserved at the high altar, along with the guests of honor, the "presidents of brotherhoods," and the "Maecenases" (festeiros) entrusted with the preparation and financing of these celebrations. [788] Likewise, in the processions, men and women of all types carry the litters of the sacred images that march past, or crowd around them. [565] In the sacred associations there is no longer any discrimination; since, however, some of them are made up of people different

[SALVADOR]

* 563 794 [565] /72 cont./
social classes, the proportion of colored people varies from one to another. This is particularly striking in the brotherhoods and third orders, associations that have centuries of existence, founded for purposes of spiritual perfection, almost all long since trans- * 563 554 794 formed into organizations of charity and mutual aid. These organizations have always been very important in all of Latin America for marking or confirming the social classification of their members. When a biographical sketch of a distinguished person is published in a newspaper of Bahia, it always mentions the brotherhoods to which he belongs or in which he occupies a [796] [292] management position. During certain large religious festivals one can see men who are not "practicing" Catholics personally appear with their brotherhoods or third orders, dressed in costumes characteristic of these same societies, a torch in their hand, carrying the canopy and marching in a group. It is greatly desired to be able to become part of these institutions that give evidence of the high position and the prestige that one has acquired. The elections for the management of one of these brotherhoods, upon which hospitals, orphanages, and old people's homes depend and which administer a rich endowment, arouse extraordinary interest among the great merchants and the people of liberal professions who are members of them. The office of headmaster, that is to say, of president, an office to which no remuneration is attached and which demands great devotion, is very eagerly contended for, because it offers its holder the possibility of augmenting his social and political prestige and of showing his administrative abili- [175] ties. These organizations were created in the colonial period in order to gather together, under the aegis of /73/ the Church, as happened in Portugal, persons of different social and economic groups for the purpose of spiritual improvement, but also in order [178] [565] to permit them to show their rank. Thus it is understood that even today they are arranged in hierarchies according to class lines, although the distinctions that separate them are in the process of becoming less clear and less rigid every day, with new conditions of urban life and with the appearance of other institutions having similar social aims. There are, for example, although

/73 cont./

*563 relatively decadent and less exclusive, brotherhoods of "colored
554 men," which in olden times grouped together sometimes slaves,
794 sometimes free Blacks or even mulattoes. A few of them still
march in the processions, wearing their insignia and their livery
and celebrating the festivals of their patron saints in the chapels
on their premises with a pomp and luxury greatly reduced in comparison
with the brilliant solemnities of their glorious period. But
for many men of this type it is an honor to belong to these brotherhoods
and to take part in their management committees. It is
always a proof of prestige within the group. The brotherhoods
and third orders of persons of high rank are always prosperous; in
their rules or "compromises" it was formerly stipulated that only
"gentlemen," white and of certain professions, would be permitted
to be registered in them. The statutes of one of these brotherhoods
still contain the following stipulations: "Art. 4. In order
to become part of the brotherhood it is necessary: 1st, to practice
the Roman Catholic religion; 2nd, to be more than 40 years
old and to be of white color; 3rd, to have irreproachable moral
and religious conduct and to live honestly from some employment,
office, industry, or income; 4th, not to have been convicted of
any dishonorable offense and not to have been expelled from any
religious or secular corporation, except if one can prove that one
has been 'rehabilitated.'" But more than a century ago the con-
[178] cept of "white" began to be enlarged in order to permit the admission
of mulattoes, either married to Whites of noble families, or
wealthy, or occupying an outstanding social position (1).

1. Gilberto Freyre, op. cit., II. p. 669.

*563 . Although the arrangements relative to the "color" of their
794 members or their "brothers" have become a dead letter or have
completely disappeared from their statutes, people maintain that
some of these brotherhoods do not accept colored persons, at least
if they are not, one informant told us, nearly white pardos. People
illustrate this assertion by citing the case of persons who did not
ask for admission to these brotherhoods for fear of being refused, or
of persons who, according /74/ to what certain informants assumed,

[SALVADOR]

/74 cont./

*563 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples
794 mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than
of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although
she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable
to enter a third order because, as a member of the management
of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons.
Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there
are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white,"
*563 and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons
794 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each
463 organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds
a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number
of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of
these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition
they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals
who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required.
In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above
all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations
of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored
persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhoo
frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory,
49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a
liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of
the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files
of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are
morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members
are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by
judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions,
there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of
management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous
métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public
*563 office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a
794 foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against
793 the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for
797 any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their
decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

[SALVADOR]

/74 cont./
*563 give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance,
794 and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of
793 a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied
797 important positions in the administration of the State and who even
[554] reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers
who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the
best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very
affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen,
to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of
institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar
*563 means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with
794 regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year
554 to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons
of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest respon-
sible or by the management of the religious associations, is based
on social and economic prestige, much more than on other per-
sonal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has
never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer
who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

*563 The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos
793 Whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period
of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should
[175] not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and
[567] authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were
excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century
foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests
officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At
[555] the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy
orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all
kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial
or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

/75 cont./

*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and *cabôclos* by repeating [539] this quatrain:

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the *cabôclo*, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some *moreno* and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of *pardos* and *cabôclos* recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. *563 562 792 178 In the female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

[SALVADOR]

/76 cont./

*563 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles
562 and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored
792 or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or
178 very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent
admission.

*563 There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests
793 of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined
[829] to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent."
Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the
176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of
Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored
priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark
or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted
among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those
who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach
on solemn occasions in the ecclesiastical life and in the religious
ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools
of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks,
some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theo-
[874] logical seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an
increased number of young colored students, made up of dark
mulattoes and Blacks.

/77/

Sports

*563 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil,
526 whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball,
or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are
practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after
having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a
profession.

*563 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited
526 number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal
575 clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons,
except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the
liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

[SALVADOR]

/77 cont./

*563 526 575 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

[178] In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. [565] Other informants explain, however, that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 526 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football. Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

[SALVADOR]

/78 cont./

*563 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years
526 and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years
[178] ago football started to become professional; today there are few
[575] important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of professionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players.
*563 They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them
542 exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and
555 their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over
554 these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank: they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.

[SALVADOR]

/79/

The Liberal Professions

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One of the aspects of social mobility in Brazil is the fact that a colored person from the most humble economic condition is able, thanks to his talent and effort, to elevate himself to a high position in the liberal professions and in the intellectual milieus, achieving in this way a status far above that into which he was born (1).

> 1. "The entire organization of the society tends to take on the form of an order of free competition, in which individuals find their place thanks to the criterion of professional competence and to chance, more than by racial origin." Pierson, op. cit., p. 420. The same remark is found in the book by Ruth Landes, The City of Women, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1947, p. 60.

One of the ways of elevating oneself socially, for everyone, is to practice a liberal profession and to acquire in it the flattering title of doctor, which, almost without discrimination, one bestows in speaking to university graduates. [873] And this is possible for colored persons as well as for whites, for in Brazil there are no separate universities for "Negroes"; all accept any student whatsoever. A black lawyer of African origin, already mentioned for his vigilant attitude on behalf of people of his race, has written: "For them (the Blacks) are open the wide doors of the temple of science, the fine arts, commerce, industry, and scientific agriculture, where, on a par with his white brother, the Black receives teaching that will render him capable of proving himself strong in life's struggle and of attaining the goal that he sets for himself in the arcana of law and justice, of medicine, in the intricate mysteries of engineering, of commerce, of industry, and of work" (2).

[113]

> 2. Alakija (Maxwell P. Assunçao), "A parábola da velhinha /The parable of the little old man/," A Tarde, Bahia, 17 August 1922.

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[SALVADOR]

/79 cont./

*563 With the gradual rise of the standard of living of the lower strata
873 of the population and with the augmentation of facilities granted
178 to poor students in the framework of secondary education, thanks
511 to the creation of new free colleges, the number of colored students is rising from day to day.

*563 Moreover, many fathers and, in the case of young colored
555 people, many mothers of very modest circumstances make ex-
593 traordinary sacrifices to assure their children a diploma that will
873 permit them to practice a liberal profession. As a result, in the various faculties of the University of Bahia there are numerous
*563 colored students who share the life, the studies, the diversions of
571 their white comrades and who form groups with them according
873 to their social rank and the center of their intellectual and academic interest. If one sometimes sees groups made up solely of young colored people, it is nevertheless certain that in the university there is no intentional or permanent segregation /80/ based on classifications of "race" or "quality." In no other environment is there more harmony and less tension in interracial relations, the informants unanimously declare. Nevertheless events whose meaning could be debatable, and which some students attribute to race prejudice, do take place. There are even students who have a tendency to remain isolated during all their years of study; certain informants say that they adopt such behavior in the hope of avoiding annoyances that might be on account of their racial affiliation. Others claim to have had difficulties when they made their application to groups of excursionists or when they took part in oratorical contests, the winners of which were to go to Rio de Janeiro as representatives of the students of Bahia. One man practicing a liberal profession, very dark in color, said that he had never suffered from discrimination when he attended the university, but that he had heard his white comrades speak of people of his type by designating them with the pejorative term of "Negro." The interpretations of the informants on the subject of the preceding facts vary, however. Some think that these episodes are caused by the feeling of inferiority and the timidity of students of very low social status. With

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[SALVADOR]

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regard to this, one mulatto asserts that the black students are mistreated by their white comrades on the occasion of the trote inflicted on the calouros by the veterans (1);

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1. Trote = jokes and humorous ceremonies with which the older students, the veterans, receive into the schools of the university those newly admitted, or calouros.

two persons practicing a liberal profession and with very pronounced Negroid features asserted exactly the opposite. The esteem of black and mulatto students for their comrades, and the attentions of which they are the object when they show themselves gifted and industrious, are also proof of the harmony of which we have spoken. At the time of the distribution of diplomas, students of all types are mixed together without distinction and embrace one another as a sign of rejoicing; likewise, in the large pictures showing the portraits of the recipients with the insignia of each discipline, the latter are grouped according to the State from which they come (the University of Bahia includes students from different regions of Brazil), but never according to their physical type. The relations between students and professors are likewise good, the "quality" of one or the other influences their relations only in an altogether exceptional way. There were formerly, in the years that followed the abolition of slavery, university professors who were opposed to the entrance of black students in their faculties and who would have liked to prevent them from attending their courses. Such an attitude was sometimes manifest and it did happen that it obtained the tacit support of certain persons; but it was disapproved of /Figs. 9 and 10 appear here/ /81/ on the whole. Only one informant asserted that in the faculty he attended the colored students did not enjoy the same facilities as the Whites. Nevertheless the prize that one of the faculties offers annually to the student who has completed the courses with a total of the highest marks has often been won by young colored people. Black and mulatto

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

5: Azevedo--105 D, Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[Salvador]

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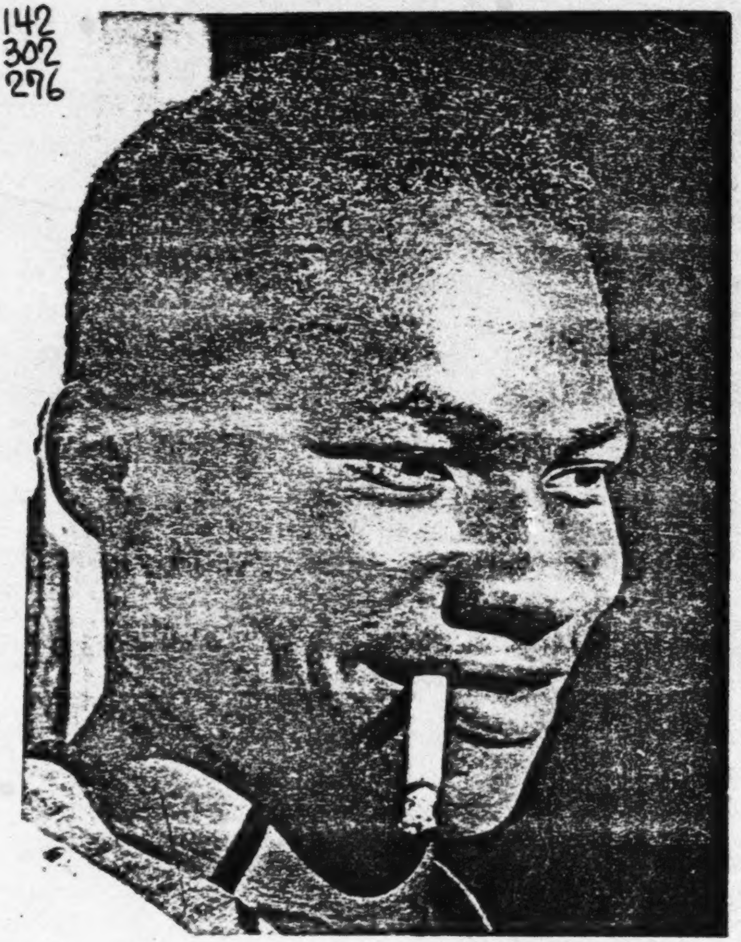

9. Black artist.

[Salvador]

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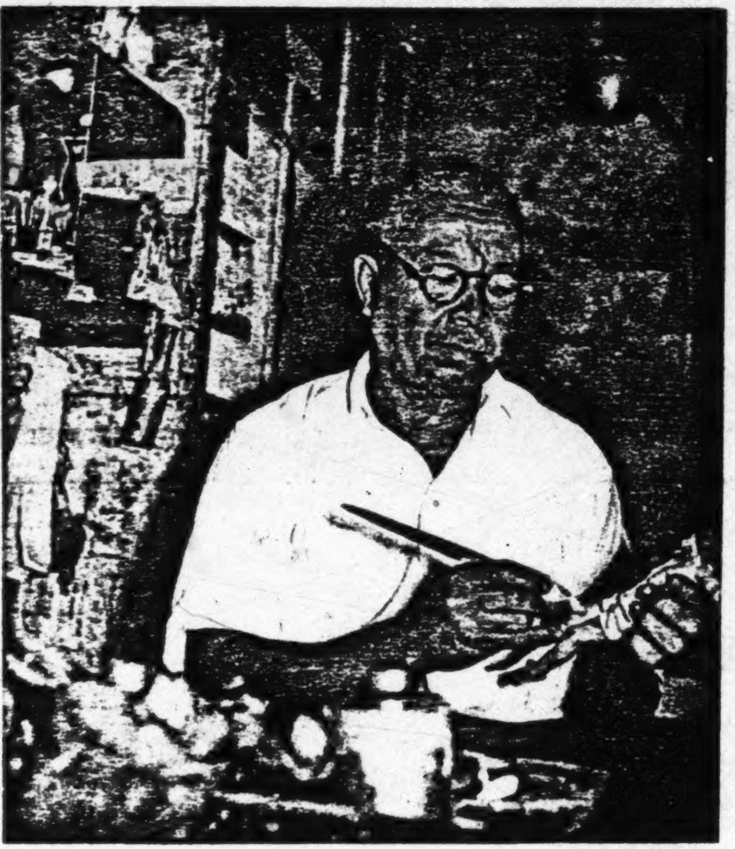

10. A colored artisan.

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*563 students are admitted, like the others, as probationers at the
571 palace of justice, in the laboratories, in the hospital services of
873 the university, etc., and sometimes enjoy exceptional facilities in pursuing instruction given under the guidance of a professor of
*563 renown. It is said, however, that formerly a school for civil
874 engineers did not readily admit colored students. This school is particularly strict, and, because of the limited opening that Bahia
[178] represented for engineers, some years ago, it had a very small number of students; in spite of this, it awarded diplomas to Blacks and to mulattoes, some of whom achieved a first-class position in their profession or elsewhere; among these is the present director of the school. If one takes at random the lists of students graduated in the course of different years, one can confirm that all types are found among them, the proportion of those with very dark skin being very high. The fact that there are very few civil engineers who are really black is explained by the small number of diplomas awarded by this school in comparison to others of the University of Bahia (1).

1. The Polytechnical School of Bahia in 1918 awarded diplomas to 23 students, two of them mulattoes; in 1948 it awarded a diploma to 51 students, among them one Black and ten métis, and in 1949 to 68 students, among them six métis.

*563 According to a mulatto informant, "there is a sector prohibited
873 to Blacks and to colored persons: the university professorship." And
875 he relates that having been a candidate for a university chair himself, anyone could say that his competence was unquestionable, but that "he was a mulatto..." Nevertheless he was accepted. Two other informants relate that a young man practicing a liberal profession, assistant in one of the faculties, had been excluded because he was mulatto, despite his recognized competence. The facts seem to contradict such interpretations, for all the faculties of Bahia have always had colored professors, though in different proportions. In the gallery of portraits of the oldest among them,

[SALVADOR]

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*563 873 875 the faculty of medicine, one can see at least eight pardos and morenos who taught there during the first half of the last century (2).

> 2. The colored candidates sometimes encountered serious difficulties in getting on the higher staffs of the professorship. One of them, Dr. Luiz Alvares dos Santos, in the thesis that he wrote in 1859 in order to become a professor in the faculty of medicine of Bahia, complained of having suffered rebuffs, which he attributed to the fact that he was of mixed blood. After three attempts he nevertheless ended up by being admitted.

In a list of 99 professors now at the university one counts 15 morenos and mulattoes, and /82/ an identical proportion among the assistants. Never is the scientific and social prestige of university professors measured by the pigmentation of the skin, and some of the most renowned intellectuals of Bahia are colored professors whose names are the pride of their faculties. Numerous finos white students are honored to have prepared their doctoral thesis under the direction of these professors and to have done their practical studies with them.

*563 463 555 The liberal professions are indubitably the most direct path of social ascent for persons who are colored and of modest milieu. With regard to these professions, even in the ones that are most on view persons of all types can have a career and build up a clientele, particularly as far as doctors and lawyers are concerned, among the upper-class Whites. The persons practicing a liberal profession whom federal and state organizations register and supervise are divided up as follows:

[SALVADOR]

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Professions	Total number	Percentage		
		Whites	Métis	Blacks
Lawyers	1,088	68.8	30	1.1
Civil engineers .	518	72.8	26.8	0.3
Physicians . . .	1,712	81.1	16.9	2
Pharmacists . .	173	82	14.4	3.6

*563 647 Men of all types occupy posts in public administrations and have management posts in them: they can reach the highest offices without having this provoke comments by their subordinates. [759] Some of the better physicians in Bahia have been colored men whose names are recalled with respect and gratitude. A dark mulatto, brother of a female informant, was classed in first place, along with two white colleagues, in a competition for an important technical post. According to other informants, however, the exclusions formerly suffered by the candidates for the posts of the magistracy were attributed to race prejudice. "One did not openly deny the merits of colored candidates, but in the classification they always figured in second or third rank, although they achieved excellent tests," one informant tells us, and he adds that a certain colored candidate, after having been approved, saw his appointment postponed on several repeated occasions. *563 692 693 In spite of this, there are in the judicial magistracy numerous morenos and dark colored men occupying the positions of judges, prosecutors, and praetors. The highest tribunal of the State includes about one-third colored judges, some of whom have assumed the /83/ presidency of the court of appeals. Other positions connected with judiciary power are also filled by colored men, and it is the same for those of clerk of the court. *563 693 554 The positions of notary, for example, very lucrative positions, are filled by persons of great prestige. Among the five notaries of the city one is fino white, of aristocratic family, and has already occupied important political posts, among them that of governor of the State; another, a very black Black, is very much appreciated for his moral qualities.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 The proportion of colored persons in each liberal profession
463 depends on various factors. In those that have the least prestige
(agricultural engineers as compared to civil engineers, non-
graduate lawyers as compared to graduate ones) this proportion is
*563 larger. A very black student of medicine calls attention to the
759 fact that the Blacks in general do not devote themselves to surgery:
"Some take up this specialization, but end up by remaining in
the general clinic. Odontology is not a good career for them
either: what well-dressed white girl would wish to open her mouth
*563 in front of a Black?" In the hospitals, physicians and attendants
758 of all types care for the sick, who are all gathered together ac-
759 cording to their maladies and according to their rank, and not ac-
743 cording to their color; in the private clinics that take patients of
565 the higher classes, everyone is admitted, provided that he can pay
the price demanded.

The title of "doctor" and the marks of deference due a graduate
*563 are given without distinction to black or white persons who prac-
554 tice a liberal profession, which is why some of them have retained
463 the habit of wearing on one of the fingers of the hand a "symbolic
[301] ring" of their profession, in order to be able to be identified and
treated with the requisite consideration. Moreover, a Black may
manifest the desire to practice a liberal profession without en-
countering hostility or scorn on the part of the Whites. In spite
of this, some tens of years ago there were professors who humiliated
a black student showing little intelligence or little industry, by
saying "while so many people need a cook or laundress, there are
Blacks who have presumed to become doctors." The author asked
[124] the professors of a primary school of the State for permission to
question its 93 most advanced students, of both sexes, about the
careers that they wished to take up later. The percentage of
replies received, according to sex and type, were:

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Career chosen	Whites		Mulattoes		Blacks	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Prestige careers (1)	80	62.50	33	46.80	44	15.70
Modest careers (2)	20	37.50	67	53.20	56	84.30

1. Merchant, civil engineer, physician, farmer /Fr. fermier/, accountant /Fr. comptable/, woman doctor, dentist, lawyer, engineer (woman), accountant /Fr. comptable/, pianist, official, professor.

2. Mechanic, salesman, printer, chauffeur, tailor, bookkeeper /Fr. comptable/, saleswoman, typist, dressmaker.

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*563 555 One may make two observations on the subject of these replies. The first is that schoolchildren of modest families, between 12 and 15 years of age, mulatto as well as black, manifest the intention of adopting prestige careers in which Whites predominate. This may denote their desire to escape situations socially and economically inferior; it may also express their faith in the possibility they have of realizing these aspirations, a possibility that would be refused them in a society with racial discrimination. The second observation is that the white persons to whom these replies were shown manifested neither surprise nor reprobation concerning the aspirations of colored children.

*563 555 538 In Brazilian folklore there is an anecdote that proves how much Bahia is known as a place where Blacks can acquire status by means of the liberal professions. It is said that a Black, very well dressed, arrived in the State of Ceara and the first person he met called him "doctor." Amazed to see that his rank had been guessed, the Black asked how his interlocutor could know that he was a graduate. And the reply was very clear: "A Black so well dressed can only be a servant among the English or a doctor in Bahia."

(SALVADOR)

/85/ The Intellectual Life

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538 The reputation of an intellectual is independent of his racial "quality." The biographies of illustrious Bahians do not mention their racial affiliation, an omission that constitutes a serious handicap for those who study the contribution of colored men to science, to letters, and to the arts of our city. With the exception of the case, for example, of an article on "Men of black color in the history of Bahia" (1), or some short studies of the same kind, it is practically impossible, unless one refers to other sources, to find out who the colored men who have distinguished themselves by their talent have been (2).

Thus, several months ago, in celebrating the first centenary of the birth of Manoel Querino, who was a mulatto of dark complexion, a newspaper described him as "a poor and artistic Bahian who distinguished himself as a traditionalist historian, folklorist, ethnographer, sociologist, educator and 'leader' /quoted in English/ of the working class to which he belonged and which he tried to elevate."

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[113] 1. "Os Homens de côr preta na Historia da Bahia," by M. Querino, in Revista do Institute Geographico o Historico da Bahia, Vol. 48, 1923, p. 353 (38 brief biographies).

[113] 2. M. Querino, As artes na Bahia e Artistas Bahianos /The Arts in Bahia and Bahian Artists/; S. Bocanero Junior, O Teatro na Bahia, 1812-1912, Bahia, 1915; Gonçalo Moniz S. Aragao, A Medicina na Bahia, Diário Oficial, ed. do Centenario, 1923; C. Torres, Vultos, fatos e coisas da Bahia /Faces, Things, and Affairs of Bahia/, Bahia, 1951; and others.

[SALVADOR]

/85 cont./

*563 554 571 Among the intellectuals of whom Bahia is proud and who are included among its great names, there are some who are very dark. One of them, speaking of the mixture of races, says that "the descendants of the crossings mentioned are to be found in Brazil in all social classes, in all professions, even the most intellectual" (3).

[113] 3. Viuva J. Moreina, "Juliano Moreina e o problema do negro mestiço no Brasil /Juliano Moreina and the problem of the Negro mestizo in Brazil/," in Novos estudos afro-brasileiros /Recent Afro-Brazilian Studies/, G. Freyre and others, Rio de Janeiro, 1937.

The colored intellectuals not only do not form a separate group, but are judged and classed solely according to their talent and their works, and in scientific and literary associations occupy positions corresponding to their importance. [527] When, in 1923, the first centenary of the struggles for national independence in the territory of Bahia was commemorated, a very well-known photographer in the city, in collaboration with a historian and professor of the university, put together a large picture with the portraits of the Bahian intellectuals who at that time enjoyed the greatest renown: members of parliament, jurists, poets, prose writers, sacred orators, biologists, physicians, musicians, engineers, folklorists, educators, journalists, linguists of both sexes. Among the 79 intellectuals represented, one counted one cabôclo and 20 morenos and pardos, some of them quite /86/ pigmented. One of the four portraits most in view in the upper part of this composition was that of a dark mulatto, already mentioned above as a historian, engineer, and linguist; his picture was placed in the same port as that of Ruy Barbosa, a famous jurist and leader, who is considered "the greatest of Brazilians." The portraits of other métis appeared among those of numerous white intellectuals. [538] Among the recently published 100 biographies of the most notable Bahians of the period that extends from 1564 to 1925, there are 12

[SALVADOR]

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*563 metis celebrated as poets, jurists, linguists, physicians, and
554 preachers, including a son of slaves, who, in the second half
571 of the last century, because of his origin, had great difficulty in
538 being accepted in a faculty of law of his country (1).

[113] 1. A. Loureiro Souza, Bahianos Ilustres, 1564-1925, Bahia, 1949.

All this testifies to the fact that intellectuals are judged according to the standards that apply to the whole of society, without color being taken into account. The literary critics, for example, affirm that the greatest living Bahian poet is a dark pardo and that a moreno is one of the best poets Bahia has had in recent decades. Moreover, the most listened-to literary and artistic critic, who died a few years ago, was a branqueado (whitened) mulatto, who exerted a great influence on the local intellectual
[527] life. When, on the occasion of the 350th anniversary of the
Lusitanian poet Camoens, the Portuguese colony celebrated Race Day, it was a dark mulatto who, in the name of Brazilians, gave the address of welcome to the Portuguese, while a celebrated sacred orator took the floor for the latter; in 1949, when the fourth centenary of the founding of the city was commemorated, the government of the State, in posthumous homage to this same mulatto intellectual, published one of his remaining unpublished historical works (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, Historia de Fundaçao da Cidade do Salvador /History of the Founding of the City of Salvador/, edited by the Secretaria do Educaçao e Sáude, Bahia, 1949.

*563 The favorable position given colored people in the intellec-
554 tual milieus is reflected in certain comments that we gathered in
571 the course of our investigation on colored people. One of them
made the following remark: "Colored people owe much to Whites, it is they who praise the Negroes of merit and who make known their name and their works." Another assured us that "among intellectuals there was no color prejudice."

[SALVADOR]

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*563 814 571 The Academy of Letters of Bahia, an institution that groups Bahian intellectuals of the greatest renown, includes among its 41 founders eight mulattoes of the most varied shades of skin. One of them, an educator of repute, became a /87/ national celebrity for his works on Portuguese grammar and for the polemic on linguistic problems that he carried on with his old disciple Ruy Barbosa. Two mulattoes -- a very distinguished professor of medicine and another, both an engineer and historian -- were corresponding members of this famous association. Since its founding in 1917, the Academy has counted among its members 15 morenos and mulattoes; among them are names of which Bahia is justly proud. [538] The group of poets and prose writers who, under the influence of symbolism, were originally part of an important literary movement was made up in large part of colored men.

/88/ Recreational Clubs

*563 575 The social and recreational clubs are the sector where admittance is the most difficult for persons of very dark color, if one is to believe the majority of informants. Some of them even declare that the obstacles that stand in the way of their entry into such organizations are due both to color prejudices and to the fact that these associations are dominated by the old families who resist the admission of members not belonging to their social and economic group. [565] It seems, however, that even in the very select clubs of Bahia there are fissures in the class barriers: none of these clubs can keep itself strictly closed nor strictly aristocratic either from the point of view of the filiation of its members to the old families or from that of their color. And this so much the more because the founder groups permitted, not only finos Whites, but persons "socially white" or "white in color" (brancas na côr).

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* 563 575 "The truly black Black does not enter these clubs," says an informant, and if he happens to be accepted it is truly exceptional; in those of the highest classes he feels isolated at the meetings and celebrations. He is then obliged to form a really marginal group with those of his type. Very few persons with quite pigmented skin have been admitted to clubs of this category, according to what people assert, but if they are received, a black leader says, it is the "doctor" who is admitted and not the Black.

A quite pigmented girl who has been at dances in several of the clubs mentioned told her friends that "the clubs accepted her because she had graduated and that people did not have the courage to turn her away." One may imagine the astonishment that a woman of liberal profession caused in Rio de Janeiro, said one informant, by going, perhaps from provocation and undoubtedly because she was accustomed to the mores of Bahia, to a ball in one of the highest-class hotels of the city.

Nevertheless and on condition that they are "socially white," light individuals do not encounter barriers. The latter, moreover, fall away in proportion as the clubs are more modest. In the clubs of intermediate category or that try to improve their class and seek members of circumstances less low, the old members of very dark color are kept somewhat reluctantly, our informants declare, and new ones are not admitted. A mulatto informant who for many years took part in the management of one of these clubs said that the latter are in the process of "having a cleaning" and they take advantage of every occasion to eliminate undesirable members; /89/ this orientation is not accepted by all the directors and has brought about serious crises. One very dark man of liberal profession relates that about eight years ago he was invited to go to the headquarters of one of these organizations to help with the carnival processions; upon his arrival he felt that the porter hesitated to let him in. The friend who had invited him was not present, so he asked to see one of the directors of the association; the latter told him, while excusing himself a great deal, that it was not possible for him to let him enter, the club not being able

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at that time to receive colored people. The informant adds, however, that he does not know of any other incident of this kind, and that he attributes it to the passing influence of some member of the management of the club in question. According to another informant, a mulatto of modest circumstances was recently unable to renew his registration at a club of which he was already a member: he attributed this refusal to his color, for he fulfilled the necessary conditions for his readmission. Thus there are clubs of intermediate category that are mentioned by the informants as being sometimes accessible to Blacks, sometimes inclined to exclude them.

Even in the most modest organizations, cases of discrimination may occur. About ten years ago an association of minor employees in commerce refused entrance to colored people during a festival it held at its headquarters. A few days later a similar association, announcing by way of the newspapers an excursion that it proposed to organize in order to celebrate a national date, added that there would be no "color distinction" and explained that the excursion would be "democratic." More recently one of the weekly newspapers of the city published the following note on the subject of a club of intermediate class: [204]

"The news that reaches us is grave; club X is taking a dangerous road: racism. In the course of the festival of the day before yesterday, at the moment when the ball was at its height, an 'Aryan' director expelled from the festival all persons of very dark color, which was very mortifying, particularly for the young people who were obliged to withdraw humiliated from the festival. If club X is against Blacks, its directors should notify their members in advance for all practical purposes. Never, in short, should they make them leave the premises, which is inelegant and could provoke reprisals."

Toward situations of this kind the attitude of the persons affected varies also. In certain cases they protest by way of the newspapers, but one most frequently encounters an attitude of remoteness, of disaffection, toward the meetings and entertainments of similar [204]

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*563 organizations, even among the little pigmented métis of rela-
575 tively high rank, who, by their features and their social qualifica-
[204] tions, could be accepted, but who, /90/ probably out of timidity, prefer to adopt a negative reaction of defense. Almost all claim to be of an eccentric nature, to have always lived very much apart, to have never learned to dance. Some go so far as to pretend that, even if they were accepted, they would very rarely go to a club celebration. One Black explains that "often Negroes do not encounter barriers because, knowing the racial prejudice, they do not go to certain places, particularly to the social clubs, for it is in connection with dancing that this prejudice manifests itself most." There are those who, agreeing with this opinion, console themselves by saying that "a Negro never goes to clubs, but he is admitted to scientific congresses and in intellectual milieus. Still others react like a black student for whom these refusals "ought to stimulate the reaction of colored persons so that those who have education finally endeavor to rise to the point of being amused. But it is the opposite that happens, they withdraw." In truth, there are few who are disposed to cope with the oppositions and those who are determined to do so may be accused, even by those of their type, of being "indiscreet" and of exposing themselves to useless conflicts by going where they have not been invited. Moreover, these attitudes are very typical of persons belonging to groups subject to discrimination and who think it is useless to react against the differential treatment that is applied to them. "I know a club to which some dark colored people were able to be admitted, but by provoking reactions," relates a rather pigmented man of liberal profession. "I do not want to subject myself to such an eventuality. I should be happy to be admitted, however, if I had a sufficiently powerful friend to introduce me and to overcome the resistance of the management committees. This, however, does not interest me, but it would be a favorable precedent for others; I also know that if this happened I would encounter the hostility of the white girls who would be very embarrassed to dance with a Black. On the part of the men there would be no opposition. A colored girl in similar circumstances

[SALVADOR]

/90 cont./ A colored girl in similar circumstances
*563 has greater advantages than a boy, for, being accompanied by a
562 friend or a relative, she is assured of dancing with him and with the
575 friends to whom he introduces her." But the colored girls, almost all the informants acknowledge, have much greater difficulty being accepted in the clubs, unless they are wives or members of the family of members. And the dark girls, for their part, fully accept this situation. In this they behave like "ignorant" colored men, someone remarks (1).

[113] 1. The refusal of female Whites to dance with male Blacks, in Bahia and in the neighboring State of Sergipe, has already been pointed out, cf. Felte Bezerra, Etnias sergipanas, Aracajù, 1950, p. 246.

*563 Refusing to dance with young colored men /91/ is not only done
562 by Whites. A dark student says that she dances with any boy pro-
535 vided that he dances well, "even if he is a blackamoor (pretinho)." Another one, very light, frankly confesses that she does not experience any pleasure and even some shame in dancing with a man darker than she.

*563 The very select clubs having a predominance of members who
575 are merchants or connected with industry and the liberal profes-
463 sions accept only persons who are "socially white," that is to say, showing the white type or classed as white; the clubs of small
554 tradesmen and commercial employees, modest officials, and people practicing a liberal profession of lower category have a much higher number of colored members, including dark
*563 mulattoes and even Blacks. The proportion of the different types
575 encountered among the members of two clubs of the categories
554 mentioned above is the following:

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Club	Number of members	Percentage			
		Whites	"Morenos"	Mulattoes	Blacks
		%	%	%	%
High category	1,522	67.21	24.83	7.95	-
Middle category	1,115	38.02	35.78	25.56	0.62

[535] In the dance clubs of workers, domestics, soldiers, and day laborers, the Whites are a minority and the Blacks are in high proportion.

As has been said above, one of the conditions required for the admission of a colored person in the recreational associations of the highest categories is to have a solid economic basis or a doctor's diploma. Indeed, in the distinguished clubs mentioned in the table above, the group of merchant members includes 76.89 o/o of white phenotype, 16.50 o/o morenos, and 6.60 o/o light branqueados (whitened) mulattoes, while that of the liberal professions contains only 62.03 o/o of the white type, 30.05 o/o morenos, and 7.90 o/o mulattoes. [555] This confirms the observation that many people succeed in improving their social rank by way of the liberal professions, for they are thus able to be introduced into the brotherhoods and social clubs, organizations which, in addition to their specific functions, are very important in that they are, as it were, an index of the social position of the Bahians.

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Numerous informants assert that they would not make an application to these clubs on their own, but that they are /92/ sometimes introduced by white friends. It may also happen that such proposals remain without effect when the management committees learn that it is a matter of a very black person. The papers lie in the archives of the club, but the candidate is never told the real or presumed reason for his refusal. It is said of a

[SALVADOR]

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*563 575 mulatto professor that one of his friends wanted to enroll him in a club of the intermediate category located in a neighborhood of the same order, took his photograph for the club file, and ... never told him the result of his procedure; he concluded from it that the refusal was motivated by his "quality."

It is obvious that all the cases cannot be interpreted simply as examples of the screening carried on against colored persons. One notes, however, that this is a sector of social relations where there is a certain conflict, although the tension that results from it is concealed by a mechanism of accommodation on both sides. On the one hand, the clubs allege not to have in their statutes provisions that oppose the admission of colored persons, even black ones, and endeavor to give rational explanations for what the excluded candidates consider acts of discrimination; on the other hand, dark colored persons assume an attitude of negative defense by suppressing the aggressive impulses which usually result from states of frustration.

*563 571 574 In student celebrations that take place in the halls of the clubs of the highest category, restrictions against the entry of dark colored persons and against dancing between Whites and Blacks are considerably reduced. This is what the informants say, and observation altogether confirms this statement. In family reunions, not very frequent in our day among the upper classes, discrimination is relaxed. "Familiarity makes prejudices fall away," according to the utterance of a Black. "When a Black appears at a white family celebration," a student asserts, "he arouses a certain curiosity and a certain reserve until he is introduced and one knows who he is. But from the moment he is introduced, especially if he is a friend of the family, he does not encounter any difficulty in dancing even with white girls." "The girls in such cases do not, or very rarely, refuse to dance with a colored boy, especially if it is a matter of a student or a well-bred person; the mothers, however, create some opposition and appear uneasy to see their daughters approached by a dark young man, sometimes fearing that they will fall in love." This information is given by a mulatto practicing a liberal profession, who, when he was a student, took part in numerous family celebrations at the homes of Whites.

[SALVADOR]

/93/ Color Prejudice in Bahia

*563 829 Color prejudice may be analyzed either through the interpretation that the members of different ethnic groups give of it or by examining their behavior in its symbolic significance. Since the verbal expression of a specific social relationship does not always correspond to the reality of the fact itself, the investigator, in order to approximate objectivity, must attack the problem by the two methods indicated. It is not sufficient to listen to what the one or the other group says, but rather it is necessary to weigh the point of view of each one and compare it to the behavior observed.

In general, in the case of interracial relations, the opposing groups have different concepts about their respective situation. This is the case in Bahia, as the different ideologies that prompt and govern the relations prove.

For the Whites, whether they are truly white or socially white, there is no color or race prejudice in Bahia. One could make an anthology of opinions which vary slightly in terms, but which all express the same fundamental opinion, namely, that Whites and colored people represent "from this point of view an exemplary situation of harmony," as a local paper wrote a few months ago. [204] It will suffice to cite the opinion of a very renowned writer, expressed in articles written at different times and somewhat far apart, that is to say, in the years 1932, 1949 and 1950, respectively, and published by an important newspaper of the city: "That is to say, it seems to us that the problem does not exist. It did not exist in São Paulo, certainly; it does not exist in Bahia. It is new, it is imaginary, it is not real."

"An isolated Negro problem does not exist in Brazil... There are even provinces in which one is not able to perceive, in the intimacy of person-to-person relationships, the presence of an obstacle that alienates them."

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"We, the Bahians, we have in this respect an invariable opinion. Brazilian racial democracy consists expressly in repudiating any manifestation of privilege based on color, and we believe that these epidermic distinctions have no value over against a superior unity, from now on indissoluble, which is the moral unity of a people within the human unity of the country."

Two other white intellectuals, likewise very much in view, denounced in 1921 and in 1933 isolated attempts at caste separation "against which our entire history protests with indignation, against which our traditions rise up in an outburst of revolt"; they deplored "the stupidity that consists in blowing /94/ on the flame of racial hatred already forgotten ... sometimes non-existent." After having lived many years in the city, a physician from another State declares that "this is without doubt the strongest impression that one receives and that one keeps of Bahia: the victory over racial prejudice and the presence of the Negro, the mulatto, and the White, who have a mulatto father and a black grandfather, in the social life."

This conception is not peculiar to finos Whites. It is also expressed by colored persons who have become integrated with the attitudes of the white group (1).

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1. In the criticism of the article by Julian Steward, "Acculturation Studies in Latin America: Some Needs and Problems," Frank Tannenbaum declares that "In spite of slavery, in spite of an intermediate period, in spite of centuries of exploitation, the Negro has not only survived, but one may say that he is flourishing. And one may always ask oneself why. The answer seems to be that the Negro has accommodated himself to the culture of the white man, as the Indian never did ... Undoubtedly I shall be accused of exaggeration, but as far as this question is concerned I think that the Negro has become a white man with a black face," in American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, No. 2, April-June 1943, p. 205.

[SALVADOR]

/94 cont./

*563 A dark mulatto intellectual declares that "the Brazilians, because
829 of the gentleness of their customs, have never experienced here the ferocity of this prejudice" (2).

[113] 2. Teodoro Sampaio, speech in *Rev. do Inst. Geogr. e Historico da Bahia*, Year XXVI, No. 45, Bahia, 1919, p. 179.

The opinion of a light-colored lawyer is no less incisive: "Will the Negro constitute a specific problem within the bosom of the Brazilian community? Our determination not to admit, either theoretically or practically, color or caste prejudice among us is expressed by a definitive word: No" (3).

3. W. Morais, *loc. cit.*

The reaction of the majority of Bahians to a question bearing on racial discrimination in their territory would be the same as that of these three students of Bahia, one of them a *pardo*, who, speaking of a Communist congress abroad, published a declaration in which it was said: "Most deplorable was the activity of some Communist members of the Brazilian delegation. They insistently endeavored to defame the political and social organization of our country by exaggerating its errors and its imperfections to the point of declaring that there exists among us an odious racial discrimination."

While the "socially white" express themselves thus, certain Blacks and mulattoes express opinions not only different, but diametrically opposite. A man practicing a liberal profession, of whom we have spoken previously, wrote in 1922 that he observed on the part of certain influential persons "the intense desire to keep the black man in a state of segregation, although this desire was concealed." Several years later another leader of the same type, in an article entitled "The eternal injustice against the Black," confirmed this assertion by saying that "there is a prejudice whose aim is to lower on the human scale the descendants of Blacks among whom the percentage of African blood

[SALVADOR]

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predominates." In /95/ speaking at a congress of Afro-Brazilian studies in 1935, a mulatto sociologist expressed himself in a very radical manner and undoubtedly charged with emotional violence due to the political excitement of the moment:

"Left to himself, master of a fictive freedom, badly paid, badly clothed, badly nourished, serving the game of economic events, brutalized by a job of ten hours a day under unhygienic conditions, enduring the racial oppression of white men (the lords of capital) and the scorn of the white proletarians themselves who inspired the bourgeoisie, putting into practice the old advice: 'divide and conquer,' the Negro lived from day to day... This situation has changed in the course of the last 60 years, it has changed for the worse (1)!" [178]

[113]

1. Edison Carneiro, "Situaçao do negro no Brasil /Situation of the Negro in Brazil," in Estudos afro-brasileiros, Vol. I, Ariel edition, Rio de Janeiro, 1935, p. 238.

A mulatto university professor, speaking during the handing out of university diplomas at the university, said a short time ago: "People state that the sinister racial problem does not exist among us, that the Black enjoys the same rights, the same prerogatives as the white man. This is a sad utopia. The upper sectors of the life of the country keep their doors closed to the Black." And another Bahian sociologist, a moreno, and one of the most influential leaders of "black" movements in Brazil, thinks that "the failures of colored men in our country have been attributed to racial prejudice, whereas they should very often be attributed to class prejudice."

A black informant, local head of movements of the same nature, asserted that there is active prejudice in Bahia, as throughout Brazil; he himself wished to protest against the declaration made to a newspaper by another black leader, according to which there is supposed to be no racial problem among us, although other Blacks asked him not to do so.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 829 Numerous informants admit that actually one can verify prejudices bound up with color, but they add that "this is a question of tradition in Bahia." According to one of them, "conservative persons transmit it to the new generations." The experiences of the informants vary, however. A moreno official, about 45
[178] years old, finds that at present prejudice is stronger than before: "It is possible that it existed previously, but it did not become evident. I know people full of merit who are treated with some contempt because of color. Many also withdraw, saying: now who will become intimate with me?..., I am black." A mulatto
[178] merchant who has many white friends affirms that relations are getting better "on the intimate level": the Blacks and mulattoes are received in the homes, make friends, but "on the social level everything continues as in the past; the same /96/ white persons who make friends with colored people do not wish to admit them into their recreational societies and their other associations." It is not rare to hear it said that very dark persons experience a certain resistance in social and even professional life, and in
[171] private they frequently comment on this. Nevertheless it is very often affirmed that the situation, from all points of view, is much better in Bahia than in the other States of Brazil; in certain of these States, in fact, and particularly in the industrial region of the south, it seems that there is real conflict between white
*563 829 171 men and colored men. "In São Paulo, for example," says a man practicing a liberal profession who has visited the States of the south several times, "their situation is worse because of foreigners; in Bahia the advantage is that there are few foreigners." Others think that it is the Blacks themselves who, by their hostile attitude, have created the problem in São Paulo. "In Rio, where the milieu is more Brazilian, the situation is better." Some think that the foreigners, even in Bahia, are to a great extent responsible for the racial discrimination, although the majority of them adapt themselves to local customs and treat like Whites the colored men who have a high position. These comparisons are almost always accompanied by an account of incidents of discrimination and hostile antagonism, incidents which, according

[SALVADOR]

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to our informants, could not happen in Bahia (1).

> 1. One of the most frequently cited examples is that of the first-class hairdressers of Rio and São Paulo, who refuse to serve clients of dark color, even when they appear well dressed and with manners indicating a perfect education. One of the informants recalls that about 30 years ago, preparing to go to an audience with the governor of the State, he was unable, though he wore evening dress, to be shaved at the establishment of a mulatto hairdresser whom he knew; the latter made many excuses for this and explained to him that he had great difficulty with his white clients. Another affirms that one may note cases of this nature, but that, on account of the great number of American sailors "full of money" passing through since the last war, the barbers practice less discrimination against the local Blacks.

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Almost all, or at least most, insist on saying that race relations in Bahia are in the process of perceptible improvement, although in other parts of Brazil they seem to be growing worse. With regard to tendencies toward racism there are, however, differences among colored people. "Racism exists, but it is hidden and hence in the process of disappearing," thinks a Black who practices a liberal profession, "but I do not believe that it will cease to exist entirely; it will always exist, though hidden and discreet." Another says that: "The situation has a tendency to change with the social ascent of colored people and with greater educational facilities. It may even grow worse, but it is now too late to separate the Whites from the Blacks, /Figs. 11 and 12 appear here/ /97/ if only because there are families in which some are dark and others may pass for Whites."

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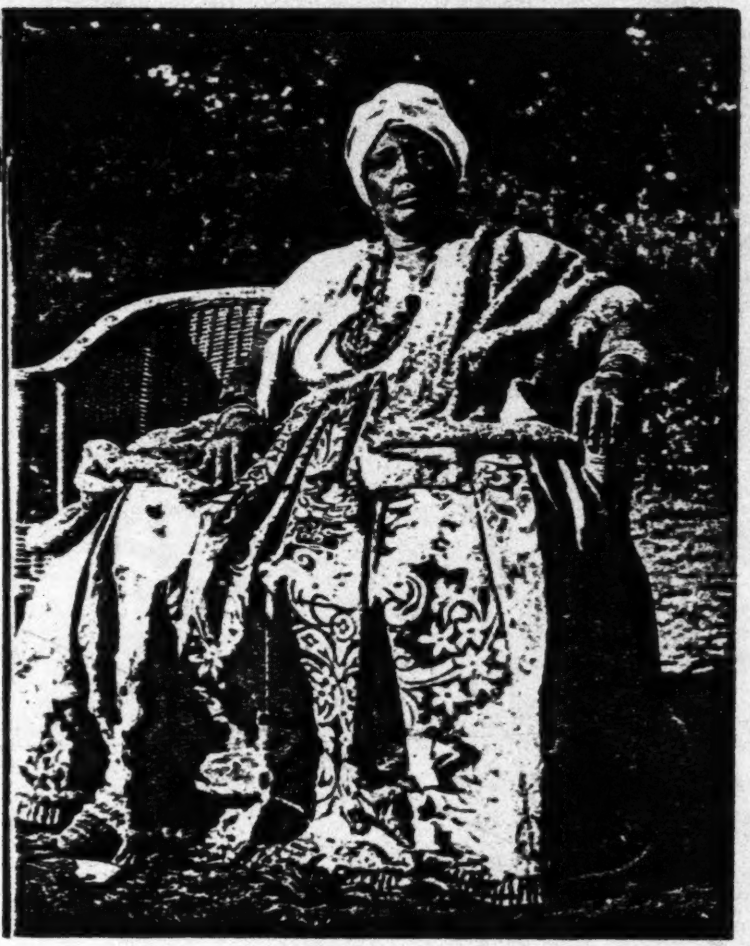

11. A "mae de santo."

5: Azevedo--129 D. Z-5 (1951) 1953 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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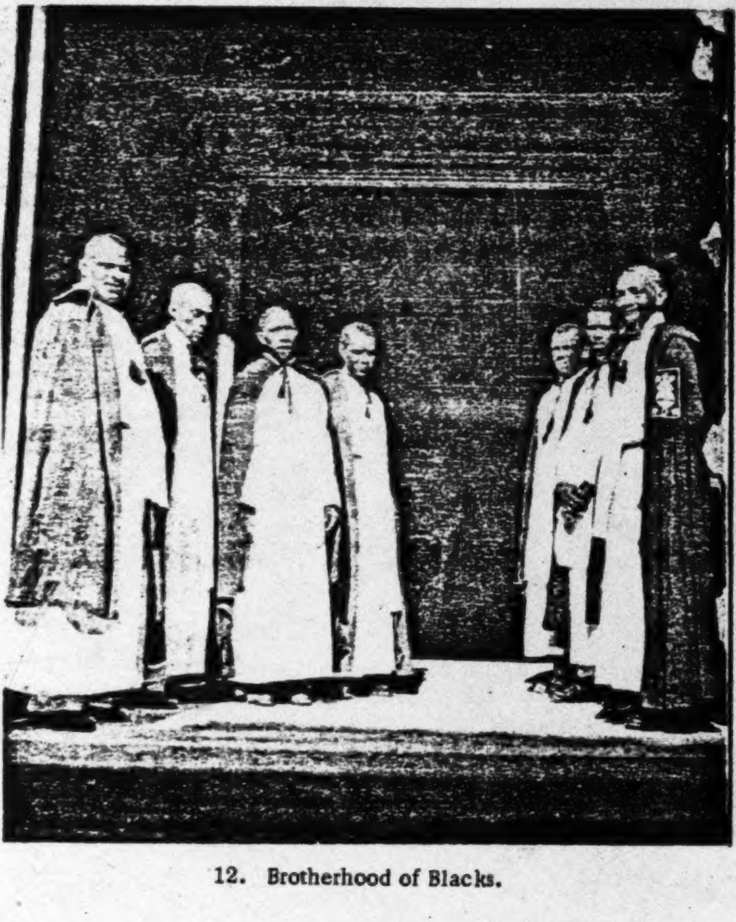

12. Brotherhood of Blacks.

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*563 Several facts reported in our account show that colored persons are subject, among us, to treatment that tends to class them according to category (1).

[113] 1. Discriminatory judgment on the basis of prejudices bearing on the characteristics of groups or categories of certain individuals. Donald Pierson, "Contacto catégorico /Categorical contact/," in Teoria e Pesquisa em Sociologia /Theory and Research in Sociology/, Melhoramento edition, São Paulo, p. 445.

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[565] The marks of this treatment, which frequently coincides with class feelings, may be seen in the personality of several of our informants. One of them makes a very expressive remark: "Prejudice really exists, no matter how much 'caste' is concealed. But, between denying the problem and wishing to give it excessive importance, there is nothing but a difference in the manner of formulating the beliefs and the defensive attitudes of the group concerned. The position of those who deny prejudice entirely is that of someone who formulates an ideal model of relations, prompted by the desire that the problem might not exist, or in the vain hope of contributing to what society evades" (2).

2. R. Almeida, loc. cit.

Those who exaggerate the proportions of this controversy are supposed to be maladjusted personalities (3).

3. Only a psychological study could elucidate up to what point the difficulties encountered by colored persons are really due to racial barriers, for, without denying that many persons may suffer opposition because of their color, it is also necessary to remember that these same persons may very well have recourse to certain stereotypes and to certain rationalizations in order to

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*563 829 project their deficiencies, their personality defects, and their professional incompetence on the Whites and their institutions. See on this subject Kimball Young, Handbook of Social Psychology, London, 1948, p. 277.

which is not always the case: exaggeration is a powerful means of drawing attention to a problem that one assumes to be non-existent or without importance, but it may also represent a form of aggression against the discriminator group.

*563 A white sociologist, who admits the existence of the problem, says very justly that "...this prejudice is nimble and cunning. It tries to hide in the folds of the unconscious of the collectivity and, ashamed of itself, reacts to attempts at expression or exposure to the light of conscience. The reaction is thus more vigorous when we suspect some effort to cultivate it. One tolerates the fact that prejudice lives as an unconfessed feeling of class or of social prestige, but one experiences an immediate repulsion when people try to raise it to the rank of an institution or of spirit of caste" (4).

[113] 4. Nelson Sampaio, "Democracia racial," Forum, Vol. IX, No. 21, Bahia, 1945.

/98/ The Black Movements in Bahia

*563 668 About 20 years ago, when the Brazilian urban proletariat began to become aware of its existence, there arose in the southern part of the country a movement intended to group together "the Brazilian Negro population" with the aim "of obtaining political representation, of defending the rights of Negroes and of elevating them on the educational level." From São Paulo, the most important Brazilian industrial center, the Black Front (Frente Negra) began to spread into other cities. In November 1932 a group of less than ten colored men of modest

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*563 circumstances, almost all black, founded the Black Front of
668 Bahia. Until that time the only organizations of "colored
*563 people" existing in the city were the brotherhoods and some
668 workmen's and charity associations, none of which had as a
747 definite aim the defense of colored men against racial prejudice.
794 The Protective Society for Invalids, founded in 1832 as a religious and charitable brotherhood for persons "exclusively of black color," stated in a publication commemorating the centenary of its founding that "to speak of the ideal of the founder of this great work of philanthropy, it is to eliminate skin prejudice from Brazilian soil." This organization, however, does not include in its statutes, revised in 1948, or mention in its annual reports activities other than those of charity or mutual aid -- something that the informants, including members of the management, confirm.

*563 A local enterprise considered "an innovation for Bahia the
668 news that colored men, against whom no distinction is made, are going to form a group." A professor of the university, in an ironic article on the Black Front, tried to advance the hypothesis that this movement was the result of Communist influence which profited from all occasional political agitation. One of the first activities of the Black Front, an activity which was disagreeable to dark persons of higher rank, says a mulatto informant, was a parade of poor Blacks along one of the commercial streets of the city, intended to show the misery in which they lived and to draw attention to the new organization. According to the same informant, the movement was "doomed to failure from its inception," for it was organized "as a kind of revolt." The founder and leader of this group, a worker who lived in São Paulo and took part in identical activities, harassed by financial difficulties and also yielding to what he himself, in an interview given to a newspaper, called his destiny of "wandering Jew," /99/ returned the following year to the southern part of the country, disappointed by the results of his enterprise, which found no support and soon died out.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 [669] [642] During this time political agitation increased in the country, a revolution broke out, and the parties of the extreme right and the extreme left made their appearance, thus increasing the confusion, which reached its height in 1937 with a dictatorship that lasted about eight years. During the first months of this same year there was founded in Bahia the Henrique Dias Society, named in honor of a black soldier who had become famous in the struggles against the Dutch invaders during the colonial period. The founders of this association, although much less numerous than those of the preceding one, were men of a higher professional and social position, though modest in the majority. The only intellectual leaders were a lawyer and former judge, the central figure of the group, 12 young physicians, a judge, a pharmacist, eight non-graduate lawyers, two journalists, a musician,and a university student; the other founder-members were 21 petty officials, three merchants, six civil constructors, 14 commercial employees, and 68 artisans. All signed the founding document. The society, according to its statutes, is composed of Brazilians, without distinction as to color, and its aim is "to fight for reconciliation and unity between persons of different color, to develop education, chiefly for the members and their families, to grant them all the assistance desired, to engage in sports and commemorate civic dates." One of the articles of these statutes stipulates that "homage will be rendered to persons who have accomplished a lofty deed for the defense of society, of country, and for the equality of the races." In a page of propaganda, the founder of the society explained that the name of the soldier of whom we have spoken above "symbolically expresses racial and social unity, for this is what Henrique Diaz was: an act of union between the black race, which did the physical work of Brazil, and the white race, which governed and defended it." Continuing the argument he added that "all this demonstrates the reason d'être of racial equality and the absurdity of prejudice, which endeavors to subordinate one race to the other," and he succeeded in justifying the existence of the Henrique Diaz Society, which, "having decided to lead the

[SALVADOR]

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*563 668 struggle against this prejudice, wishes to do so for the unity of individuals of different skins, for the realization of an educational program." "This association," its founder announced in a letter to the author of these pages, "was an outcome of the black fronts and was founded in order to combat the racial prejudice that Nazism wanted to introduce into our country when /100/ integralism (1)

[665] 1. A political movement of the extreme right, organized into a party. One of the principal national leaders of this party at that time published several books of anti-Semitic doctrine.

dominated. It should be noted that the situation was such that Negroes were afraid to be and to call themselves black, this making them suspected of Communism. And in fact a newspaper went so far as to say that this was Communism. But once the New State had disappeared (2),

[642] 2. The name given to the authoritarian political regime established by the dictatorship from 1937 to 1945.

[178] there came democracy and our society continued." The Henrique Diaz Society still exists, but has not acquired great prestige: its management rarely meets, and since its head has settled in the interior of the State, where he performs the duties of judge, it has practically only a nominal existence, limiting itself, thanks to a small federal subvention, to running a modest primary school in a poor district.

One of the founders of the society launched another movement in 1946, the Campanha do Pi Racial (3).

3. Pi (π), a Greek letter adopted by the Campanha do Pi Racial as a symbol of rapprochement.

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*563 668 whose aim was: "To extirpate, annul, abolish the inferiority complex (of the darkest ones); to demolish, enlighten, and purify a false superiority complex (of the lightest ones), so that, by a just and balanced educational process, there may no longer be Blacks and Whites in Brazil, but only Brazilians." Aside from a publication in the form of proverbs, thoughts, and maxims on the inferior situation of the Blacks, this campaign was pursued by means of "conferences of spiritualist philosophy" conducted by the founder, a physician with a modest clientele. This movement too, however, had neither the repercussion nor the prestige hoped for by its founder, with the result that the latter is thinking of starting in Bahia a branch of the Union of Colored Men, created some years ago in the country. But although he believes in the existence of color prejudice and wishes to combat it, the secretary-general of this union, in statements to a newspaper of Bahia on the occasion of a visit to the city, said that "in Brazil there is in reality no race prejudice. And this is so true that, although our principal objective is to unite colored men of all countries, the union opens its doors to citizens of other races; this also because we think it would be impossible to form a separatist association in this land, which is for all."

*563 575 794 The Federation of the Afro-Brazilian Cult, organized to join together the groups of the cult, and the centers of Afro-Brazilian studies are, as their names indicate, organizations of a different nature. Neither their statutes nor their activities tie them directly to the programs of social action in favor of colored people.

*563 668 /101/ As may be seen, the "Negro" movements in Bahia have a very precarious existence and operation. Ordinarily they group almost exclusively Blacks and dark mulattoes of relatively modest circumstances, and they do not practice real social and political action. They do not, however, form hostile groups, but, quite the contrary, they endeavor to bring together Whites and Blacks; they avoid all strife and antagonism with the dominant group, and in the last analysis they have as a fundamental objective the integration, let us say even the acculturation, of colored people,

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*563 especially the Blacks, toward the norms of behavior, the attitudes,
668 the concepts of the Whites, in order to permit them to be accepted
and classed in the society of Bahia. It is not difficult to perceive
*563 that the "white" norms are the very ones that everybody in
183 Bahia -- Whites, métis, and Blacks -- endeavors to realize in life,
829 and that to be colored is not considered contemptible; the Blacks,
for example, have not always succeeded in concealing some
shame that many characteristics of their native culture cause them,
particularly those that contrast most with the culture of European
origin, such as religion. What seems to account for this is the
fact that colored people feel themselves, as much as the Whites,
entirely Brazilian, that is to say, integrated or desirous of being
integrated in the Luso-Christian and, today still more, Neo-Brazilian
*563 culture of the dominant class. A lawyer and a sociologist, both
668 morenos and Bahians, a short time ago expressed the fear lest
the "Negro" movements of Brazil take on segregative tendencies.
And some leaders of these movements in Bahia are pointed out by
the informants as being followers of such tendencies; however,
"this isolationism," they add, "does not manage to gain the upper
hand." "Up to now I have not wanted to become part of this
association, but since there is no racism in it I am going to join,"
one Black stated.

*563 The attitude of Blacks of professionally and socially high
668 status is generally expressed by aloofness toward these movements;
829 very few of them, as a matter of fact, can contribute to lend
[554] them personal prestige. At most these Blacks give their nominal
support and contribute financially to these movements, but they
follow their activities from a distance, avoiding all publicity in
this respect, though they sympathize with a program that proposes
to elevate the Blacks whose education has been neglected. They
do not conceal their lack of confidence with regard to the aims
and intentions of Negro movements on the national level. In the
opinion of an educator, there is no reason for colored people to
group themselves in terms of their quality. This would give a
character of strife, which is undesirable. The pardo or the Black
ought to endeavor to enter social life through the wide /102/ doors

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*563 668 829 of merit, without its being necessary to force them. Others consider that such organizations are not suitable, either because they are proof that discrimination exists, or because they tend to aggravate it by giving it dimensions that it does not have in Bahia. One young man who practices a liberal profession asserts that "he looks on such movements with uneasiness, in fear of ridicule, for its promoters prove their social in adaptation." Some share the opinion of a mulatto, highly esteemed in his profession, who affirms that he refuses to participate in such groupings, not in order to deny his quality as a colored man, but because he considers them unjustified.

The methods of action adopted by the "Negro" movements are likewise criticized. A politician wrote that "the Negroes and mulattoes try to unite in congresses and associations, but give to the struggle merely a doctrinaire character and do not seize all the possibilities that their weakness can prevail upon." In a newspaper article in which he expressed himself thus, he himself proposed a national boycott of merchandise produced by a factory that refused to admit a colored employee. Although his article was very vehement against this foreign enterprise and ended with a stirring appeal to colored persons, it does not seem to have had any practical effect in Bahia. The leaders of these movements, moreover, feared not being understood and not receiving the necessary support. According to one of them, "the Black of Bahia is not convinced that he is black."

*563 671 829 Concerning the federal law recently put in force against religious and racial discrimination, the informants in general have only a very vague notion of its existence and are ignorant of its text. Some consider it useful in some cases (hotelkeepers who refuse Blacks, for instance) or to lower the barriers that prevent young colored people from entering upon a diplomatic career or a military career at the rank of officer. Others consider it simply useless in Bahia; a short time ago the papers featured the news that this law was put into effect in the State of Rio Grande do Sul in the southern part of Brazil. A mulatto priest stated: "We have no need of laws, here in Bahia, to have a Negro

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*563 671 829 esteemed, we only need more respect for the lower class in general; we need to improve its food, to help it effectively rise again, or, before that, to obtain a level of life that it has never as yet had."

/103/ Conclusions

*563 829 That there is no color prejudice in Bahia is a statement that is only partly true. Colored people are still regarded as forming a biological and social category characterized by traits that are considered inferior to those of the Whites. Some people are convinced that Blacks and Whites differ in intellectual capacities, in personality, morality, and aptitude for progress. They declare that if Bahia does not progress the fault lies with the Blacks. That is the reason why such a large number of light mulattoes conceal or deny their caste or feel ill at ease when one makes an indiscreet allusion. These prejudices, though slight, explain the cases of discrimination of which colored people in certain sectors of the society are victims. These incidents, moreover, are not accompanied by any violence, and it is difficult to distinguish them from manifestations of class antagonism, in view of the fact that in Brazil skin color is very often a symbol of social rank. The Whites evoke the memory of the old Portuguese colonists who dominated the economy, politics, and the administration, and whose descendants, even today, make up the major part of high society. As for the Blacks, they remind us of slavery, work on the plantations, and domestic occupations. Even today the colored men are cantoned in the lowest and least educated strata of society.

*563 [565] [564] [555] But the population of Bahia may be defined as a multiracial society with classes, and not with castes, if one defines caste as a closed group to which one belongs by birth and from which it is impossible to escape. In Bahia colored people have a status that is conditioned by their individual qualities and aptitudes, and they may enter into competition with the Whites. In principle

[SALVADOR]

/103 cont./ In principle
*563 anyone at all may elevate himself socially by wealth, by his
555 intellectual merits, by his professional titles, by his moral qualities,
[556] or by a combination of these elements, by virtue of the system
of values of a capitalist society. In their ascent toward the higher classes, however, colored people encounter resistance, due in part to the influence of the prejudices of which we have spoken, but also because of the fact that for the most part they belong to classes that economically are at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

The social ascent of colored people, however, is relatively frequent, and there are numerous examples of it. As a group,
*563 however, colored people also rise, but with difficulty. It is
565 sufficient, in order to get a clear idea of this, to compare the dis-
555 tribution of the different ethnic types that are encountered in
/104/ Brazil in the groupings and organizations that symbolize
162 the upper classes:
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	Whites		"Pardos"		Blacks	
	%	Indices	%	Indices	%	Indices
In the total population	33	100	47	100	20	100
Religious brotherhoods	82	240	18	38	--	--
Liberal professions (1)	76	230	22	46	2	10
Clubs	67	200	33	70	--	--

1. Average of various liberal professions.

*563 As may be seen, none of the above groups constitutes a sample
565 representative of the total population, which proves, in fact,
555 that the different types still do not have the possibility of ad-
vancing to the higher strata. If, by basing ourselves on the
[178] descriptions of the society of Bahia in the past, we could make up
a table of the same nature, we would see that "high society" and the prestige professions 50 or 80 years ago were much less mixed, although the participation of individuals of mixed blood in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition.

[SALVADOR]

/104 cont./

000 in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account
*563 for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation
175 of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of
212 the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city
178 was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although
[567] it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they
[659] progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563 It should also be remembered that among those who are
571 called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563 The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are
555 in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion
178 of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is

[SALVADOR]

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*563 important to note that up to now the chief means of social ascent,
555 by which a large number of Blacks and métis have acquired high
178 status, is education in the double sense of good manners and of
instruction of a certain level, not to mention adherence to the
customs and to the concepts of the predominant culture, which, in
the last analysis, is a problem of acculturation or of greater integration of the colored masses into the dominant society. One
*563 of the mechanisms that facilitate this integration is the protec-
608 tion and aid that numerous godfathers and godmothers offer their
178 colored godchildren by rearing them in their own houses, by procuring employment for them, by sending them on to secondary and higher studies, and often by continuing afterwards to guide and protect them, this even being one of the principal functions of this system of spiritual kinship.

*563 The preponderant groups that constitute the upper strata of
829 Bahian society do not oppose these tendencies with organized resistance, and, in accordance with the liberalism that is the basis of their mentality, they consider them proof of moral progress and of "civilization," of which, in general, the Bahians of all types are very proud.

/Tables I-III follow on pages 142-144./

[SALVADOR]

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Table I. Types of members belonging to a "high-class" recreational club.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry	396	76.89	85	16.50	34	6.60	515
Officials	40	68.96	11	18.96	7	12.06	58
Military men	12	57.10	5	23.80	4	19	21
Artists, professors	3	50			3	50	6
Technicians (chemists, agronomists, draftsmen, translators, etc.,	23	62.10	11	29.70	3	8.1	37
Lawyers	96	62.03	58	30.05	13	7.90	167
Physicians, dentists Pharmacists	142		79		20		241
Civil engineers	71		34		11		116
Students	240		95		26		361
	1,023	67.21	378	24.83	121	7.95	1,522

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. Table II. Types of members belonging to a recreational club of the intermediate social group.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Blacks		
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Totals
Merchants, commercial employees	246	36.28	267	39.38	163	24.04	2	0.29	678
Officials	81	41.96	74	38.34	38	19.68			193
Military men	6	28.56	11	52.37	4	19.04			21
Artists, professors	4	17.39	11	47.82	7	30.43	1	4.34	23
Technicians	8	33.66	5	18.51	12	40.74	2	7.40	27
Liberal professions, students	79	45.66	31	17.91	61	35.26	2	1.15	173
	424	38.02	399	35.78	285	25.56	7	0.62	1,115

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Table III. Types of members of a "high-class" religious brotherhood.

Professions	Whites		"Morenos"		"Mulattoes"		Totals
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	
Commerce, agriculture, industry . . .	419	84.98	59	11.98	15	3.04	493
Officials	57	81.42	12	17.14	1	1.42	70
Military men	6	85.71	1	14.29			7
Artists, professors	3	60	2	40			5
Technicians	14	93.33			1	6.67	15
Liberal professions	192	79.01	48	19.75	3	1.23	243
Students	64	82.05	10	12.82	4	5.12	78
Priests, including six bishops	14	48.27	15	51.73			29
Professions not indicated	49	75.56	10	15.62	5	7.81	64
	818	81.47	157	15.64	29	2.88	1,004

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/For information on the "colored people" of the city of Salvador (Bahia), Brazil, including data on their proportion in the total population, occupations, social and political status, race crossing, race prejudice and discrimination exhibited against them, etc., see category 116, pp. 6-18, 21-42, 44-63, 66-83, 86-104, 107-127, and 130-144./